



## Young India

Tuesday, 25th October 1919.

### TO THE SUBSCRIBERS AND THE READERS

(By N. K. Gandhi.)

"Young India" from this week enters upon a new stage. It becomes a bi-weekly when Mr. Bernadine was deposed and the Chronicle was strangled. Ever since the "Chronicle's" re-birth, the syndicate and I have been considering the advisability of converting it to the weekly press. The conversion of "New India" into a weekly and its coming under my charge has hastened the decision. The burden of conducting a bi-weekly and a weekly is too great a strain on me and a weekly "Young India" will now serve almost as well as a bi-weekly. An advertiser will be made to give as much notice as was given in the bi-weekly. The annual subscriptions will now be Rs. 4 instead of Rs. 8 and the price of a single copy will be one anna instead of two. Various postage subscribers may either have the balance due to their charge written to them or the amount may be credited to the next year's account. Those subscribers who may be dissatisfied with the change may have the proportionate payment refunded to them on application.

The headquarters of "Young India" have been transferred to Ahmedabad for better management, and in order to enable me to devote some time to the Satyagrah Ashram which owing to my continued absence here is not being somewhat neglected by me. Moreover it was obviously inconvenient in every respect to edit two papers at two different places. This deprives me of the privilege of being with leading friends as much as I have lately been. But I hope they will forgive me, if the new arrangement results, as I hope it will, in greater service to the country.

"Young India" has hitherto been ably equipped in dealing with the Punjab affairs. But one may reasonably hope that the cloud will lift in the near future.

What will "Young India" then present to its readers? I frankly confess that to me, editing a newspaper in English is no pleasure. I feel that in occupying myself with that work, I am not making the best use of my time. And but for the Madras Presidency, I should now leave the work of editing "Young India". It is true that I should as a member have to make my voice in matters of general interest known to the Government. But I do not wish to conduct a newspaper merely for that purpose.

The editing of "New India" has been a perfect avocation to me. Whilst "Young India" has a little

more than 1000 subscribers, "New India" has 15000. The number would leap to 20000 if we could but get printers to print that number. It shows that a vernacular newspaper is a high work. I am proud to think that I have numerous readers among farmers and workers. They make India. Their poverty is India's curse and crime. Their prosperity alone can make India a country fit to be lived in. They represent nearly 80 p. c. of India's population. The English journals touch but the fringe of the mass of India's population.

Whence therefore I hold it to be the duty of every English-speaking Indian to translate the best of the English thought in the vernacular for the benefit of the masses, I recognize that for a few years to come at least we have accepted Hindustani as the common medium among the cultured classes and until Hindustani becomes compulsory in our schools as a second language, educated India, especially in the Madras Presidency must be addressed in English.

But I will not be party to editing a newspaper that does not pay its way. "Young India" cannot pay its way unless it has at least 2000 paying subscribers. I must appeal to my Tamil friends to see to it that the requisite number of subscribers is found, if they wish to see "Young India" continued.

Too many at once, because the proprietors of "Young India" have decided to give up all advertisements. I know that they have not been entirely of set all connected to my view that a newspaper ought to be conducted without advertisements. But they are willing to let me make the experiment. I regret those who wish to see "Young India" free from the taint of advertisements, to help me to make the venture a success. The Gopuram "New India" has already demonstrated the possibility of conducting a newspaper without advertisements making its page. What a financial gain it would be to the country, if there was for each province only one advertising medium—not a newspaper—containing innocent unwarped pictures of things useful for the public. But for our Oriental indifference, we would decline to pay the huge market value by way of non-advertisements. Some readers who are interested in the party of journalists recently sent me a most interesting advertisement extracted from a well known newspaper. I have refused to send the page of "New India" by reproducing it. But anyone turning to the advertisement sheets of even leading journals can easily see, against my criticism.

A vital as to the policy of "Young India". Apart from its duty of drawing attention to injustices to individuals, it will devote its attention to constructive Satyagrah as the sometimes cleansing Satyagrah. Cleansing Satyagrah is a real resistance where resistance becomes a duty to remove a political and degrading influence such as the Eastern Am

## ADDITIONAL POLICE.

A friend has sent me an extract from the Hon. Mr. Robertson's speech on a resolution moved in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the additional police posted in Alida. Mr. Robertson has explained the reasons for imposing additional police. He has criticised the use of the expression 'peace law police' saying that that expression has no justification in law or practice. He then goes on to explain the 'principles upon which additional police are located in any area. He says:

"The police arrangements in any particular locality, such as the Alida Taluka, are based upon the normal requirements of the Taluka for the maintenance of law and order and for dealing with the normal amount of crime which may be expected there. When, as happened at Alida, scenes of violence take place in large and violent mobs or gangs, the conditions become such as to be beyond the control of the normal strength of the police. And then it is that Government takes advantage of the law and locates additional police in the area so that public security may be maintained. The object of locating this additional police there, is not to punish the perpetrators of the crime but it is to protect the law-abiding inhabitants of the area concerned."

The question raised by the words of the concluding was one of removal of additional police. Dealing with the matter the Hon. Mr. Robertson said:

"The information I have at my disposal leads me to the conclusion that the excitement engendered by the deeds of the last year has not yet died down, and it is therefore necessary in the interest of the law-abiding people of the neighbourhood that some additional police should be there for maintaining law and order."

In applying these principles to Nand and Sangli there is not a shadow of a ground for imposing additional police in these two places. There is no crime in them and the ordinary police force was so inadequate for protecting the inhabitants. It is the peaceful inhabitants who are being worried and beaten they are in any danger of molestation from anybody, has become a free rallying centre for a mob at Nand station and such a thing was contemplated at Sangli. The proposition was probably not under at all. The Hon. Mr. Paragjee interrupted the question, 'Why cause these people pity?' whilst Mr. Robertson was expounding the principles on which additional police was posted in a particular area by the Government. His question was quite appropriate because if the action was not punitive but merely preventive or protective a byman would think that protection was clearly a Government's duty, and therefore there should be no help from the inhabitants that protected. Here is Mr. Robertson's reply:—

"As regards the levy of the expense of this police, that is a matter which the law leaves to the discretion of Government and it is a general

rule when additional police have to be placed on account of their faults that the people are made to contribute towards the cost. If all the people did not actually participate in the crime, the fact remains that they did not actively prevent it, and our information is that in this particular instance the whole population of the Taluka was in active sympathy with the robbers."

Assuming the correctness of Mr. Robertson's position, there is not a little of evidence to show that the whole of Nand or Sangli was in sympathy with those who were down a mob or would be. It was clearly impossible for a whole population to know that such a crime as the burning down of a mill was in contemplation. There could, therefore, be no question of their actively preventing it. Induced by the Alida mob, the whole of police in Nand and Sangli and the levy of the expense of it are wholly unjustified.

## ANOTHER PUNJAB CASE.

The prison of Feroze Din with of Lala Thakurdas of Sangli furnished more cases of glaring injustice committed under some very court in the Lala Thakurdas was tried at the Lahore on the 2nd June last under the 144 Indian Penal Code, a law being a member of an unlawful assembly. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with a fine of Rs 100. The sentence has since been reduced to one year's imprisonment. Under the action and the maximum penalty provided in six months. Now the year sentence was given, it is two years' imprisonment given on a ground. What is more reprehensible is in the fact that the Government although they had done was done in the mistake in the Summary Court in sending greater punishment than that authorized by the system have reduced it only to one year. Unless there are any special regulations authorizing higher penalty than that contemplated by the Indian Penal Code, this is a case of gross injustice.

Not is this all. The prisoner has been refused copy of the judgment and evidence. Our law, therefore, to ensure upon the case in darkness. The only way Thakurdas can be have completed in that of appealing to any court at all having. Judges of the District Law Commission have held these attempts to be perfectly lawful and against the general of the law or publicly legitimate. It required a Summary Court magistrate to direct in these lawless measures in unlawful assembly. If all the facts set forth in the prison to this as they apparently are, then the witnesses for the prosecution were prepared, that the witnesses for the defence were not all examined, and that there was no more than speeches against the Punjab legislation on the 11th April, early it is a case of systematic injustice. We hope that the Minister for the Local Government will on some Punjab law and reset the law unlawfully imposed upon him.

## SOCIAL SERVICE.

The following is the summary of Mr Gandhi's speech delivered in the Congress Hall, Rajahmundry under the chairmanship of Nageswara Reddy, Political Agent, Rajahmundry on the 24th September last.

Mr. Gandhi said he was pleased to find Nageswara Reddy in the chair. It was good for both, that Rajahmundry and India should meet on a common platform on all non-constructive and non-political matters. Such meeting brought the activities of political life and promoted harmony between the two races. The speaker congratulated the Rajahmundry Mandal for their splendid work during the influenza epidemic and the late famine. He however ventured to suggest that free and honest water service by an organising preventive measures which is very good to reduce suffering in times of plague or famine, it was better to hold together in order to prevent a recurrence of plague or famine. He is a wise and philanthropic doctor or lawyer who prevents diseases or quarrels. Social service ought not to wait for influenza or famine for giving their service to the nation.

Trust service of the constructive and preventive type could be rendered in the villages. And if we succeeded in keeping our villages pure, clear, healthy and prosperous, the big cities would take care of themselves. He therefore suggested to Mr. Gandhi that who was the head and the heart of the movement in Rajahmundry to go to some villages and by living among and live them to study their wants and their habits. Then he would discuss the best method of rendering social service.

The speaker at one time thought the social service was best known and regarded in Europe. Experience had taught him otherwise. He was of opinion that service was most widely practised in such a religious duty as in India. He instance the more than instance in which the Gandhi at Haridwar was recognised. The Gandhians were a standing testimony to our organising ability and our capacity for social service. Thousands of pilgrims who attended the Gandhian year functions were attracted for without difficulty in a spirit of service and not of commercial gain. The Gandhian caste or casteless was an instance of such social service organisation. The late Sir K. W. Hunter used to say that India was remarkable for the absence of any need of Poor Law. Caste regulated service in the event of disease, death and poverty. He did not wish to glorify caste. He recognised its defects and its weakness, as it prevented service. He merely mentioned it as an illustration to prove his proposal that Social Service was recognised in India as a duty. Unfortunately most of our old institutions had perished. His point was that the old institutions or methods should be changed, remodelled or reorganised in so far as it may be necessary to suit new conditions. We were likely to go wrong if we repeated the old without due adaptation.

## VILLAGE IMPROVEMENT.

In "New India" Mr. Gandhi has been a series of articles on the condition of Indian agriculture and the nature of its amelioration. In the first article he gave a vivid picture of the agricultural as he has seen him in Bihar, Chhargam and Madras. In the second he described the problem of village improvement. He says—

Mr. Samuel Carter's description of an Indian village as a collection of haphazard dwellings surrounded on a drought is not words exaggerated. In fact more pathetic details could be added to those given by him. There should be some system about the structure of a well-ordered village. There should be some order about the village lanes, and the roads should be as systematically clean as the land of some of the best of the politicians, that nobody used to waste in walking or even sleeping in the streets. The lanes should be macadamised and have gutters for taking out water. The temples and mosques should be kept as beautifully clean, that the rain should feel as if it was falling between them. The village should, so far as possible, be full of sturdy trees and fruit trees and not short ones. It should have a library, a school and a small dispensary. Working and play arrangements should be such as may not contaminate the air, water and roads of the village. Every village should be self-sufficient so far as its needs of food and clothing are concerned, and should be capable of defying itself against robbers, thieves or wild animals. There was a time when the Indian village satisfied most of these conditions. It is now deficient in various particulars, it is possible that the need for them was not then felt. However the case may have been, there is no doubting the fact that in ideal village should approximate to the description. I have given above. Only such villages could be called self-governing and if all Indian villages could come up to the ideal, India would be free from most of its ills.

It is not only not responsible to bring about the state of things, it is so a very difficult affair either. There are about seventy five hundred thousand villages in India, so that the average population of a village is 500. In fact there are numerous villages with less than a population of 1000. And it is my firm belief that these small units are really capable of being well ordered and organised. For that an epoch-making is necessary, not a mere use of legislative strength or legislation. One thing only is essential and that is a small number of efficient workers—men and women. They can by their example and spirit of service get the requisite improvements made. It is not that they should give their knowledge to the village. Lapses of their working for their livelihood, they can bring their spirit of service to bear on the villagers. Nor need they be very highly educated. Even without a knowledge of letters, one can work for village improvement. There is

no fear of Government or foreign interference, nor is there any very great need of their co-operation. If every village could have a few good volunteer workers, very necessary work of improvement and reform would be possible all over India without much aid, or without any expensive agencies. Only a little sustained effort would bring about unexpected results. The reader will see that money too will not be very essential either, for this work. The need, and the permanent need, is for ardentness in a religious spirit. It is my experience that this is the surest way of improving the condition of agriculture. No village or individual need wait for another's lead in work in this direction. Any man or woman engaged with a spirit of selfless service can immediately set off working, and in so doing be fully serving his country. In my next article I shall make more of my experience on this direction. But I hope that every one who appreciates what I have tried to suggest in this article will begin work without a day's delay.

### THE FUTURE OF TURKEY

The following views of Sir Akbar Ali Khan as reported by a representative of the "Times of India" who interviewed him on his return to India, will be of interest —

Questioned as to what he thought of the Turkish question, Sir Akbar Ali Khan said: "The Turkish question is apparently dominated by the secret treaties which have vitiated the open declarations of the Allies whereby the support of the Islamic nations in what was proclaimed to be the cause of liberty and self-determination was secured. But when the achievement of victory with the help of Moslem armies, which took a conspicuous part in all nations in Turkish territory, the principal of nationality and self-determination" is being abandoned in favour of their non-Moslem nations who have set their eyes on the grapes in Sultan's vineyard, especially in Syria. It is a misfortune to the entire civilisation that President Wilson's sublime dream, which at one time so completely captured the imaginations of mankind, has negligently been tucked into the background under the pressure of French, Greek and other interests. In London under the impression that Mr. Wilson's job had been done, concentrated in his effort to secure the full aim of the European Powers in his League of Nations scheme on which he had set his heart and that he is anxious to do an equally good turn to his supporters at the Peace Conference by letting the secret treaties override the openly declared principles under the gaze of mankind. To me as an Indian, he seems to have drifted towards a policy of betraying the noblest virtues of which are the Moslem race. The apprehensions of the Moslem nations that the cause of Islam, after the solemn pledges of the Allies, is being betrayed, notwithstanding the friendly attitude of Great Britain, is not unbounded of the secret treaties, the provisions of which have hidden not only from

"The Government of India," concluded Sir Akbar Ali, "have no doubt vigorously championed the Moslem cause and their representatives, the Mahomeds of Bombay and Lord Seale, have very ably pressed the Moslem view before the Peace Conference. But the selfish interests involved in the secret treaties are so strongly that a just solution of the Turkish question likely to satisfy Moslem sentiment in India is by no means easy. All that the Moslems can do is to show themselves adherents both in letter and in spirit to the principle of nationality solemnly accepted by the Allies and Associated Powers as so to free them from the oppressive designs of non-Moslem races armed with munitions."

### GENERAL SMUTS' SPEECH

[In reply to Indian Leaders' Address.]

The following is the speech delivered by General Smuts in reply to the address presented to him by the Indian Indian Community on the 25th instant —

"Gentlemen,—I thank you for the beautiful address with which you have greeted me and for the sentiments expressed therein. I was glad to note that, in the address, you have made mention of the fact of your countrymen having served under my command in the Great War. As I have said on previous occasions, I have been proud of the privilege of having had under me in East Africa, as large a number of your countrymen. Some of them came from the independent Native States of India, Imperial Service contingents and others who did great and glorious work in that War. I had written from East Africa to the Prime Minister of India of the splendid part played by their troops and that there were few better than they. Your countrymen fought not only in East Africa but took part in other theatres of War. The conquering of the Turkish Empire was in great part the work of the Indian Army. The burden of the work in Mesopotamia, Turkestan, and the Indian Frontier fell almost entirely upon the Indian Army. If the war had continued until this year, the Indian Empire would have had over a million men in the field. The stupendous part taken played in this great struggle had considerable effect on the result of the War. Owing to her magnificent efforts, India has won for herself a place among the nations of the world. As a member of the War Council I have had great opportunities of having men show the feelings of the Indians and their desire for a larger share in the appointment of commissions in the Army, and I was glad I was able to do something for them in the interim. I have worked to make and a good deal in promise for the recognition of India and her services to the Empire. I strongly supported the proposals of granting commissions to Indians, and when it was pointed out that this might create an awkward position and that there might be the possibility of Europeans being placed under Indians, I replied "Why not? I would be proud to serve under an Indian officer if he were able." In the Peace Conference, India

was represented by the Maharaja of Sikkim, Lord Dinku and Mr. Montagu. The Maharaja is a personal friend of mine, and Lord Dinku is a man of considerable ability and training. He is the cleverest man I have met, and I was able to learn much from him on Indian problems. As a result of the War, there was an extraordinary feeling throughout the world which did not leave India unaffected. The desire to govern herself. Other nations have been ruling and meddling, and India, after having been made a British for over a hundred years, should be given a large measure of self-government. I have been a party to the Households. Mr. Montagu going to India to study the questions there which are involved in some forthcoming conference proposals being submitted to the British Parliament. The British are a very highly imaginative people though they do not appear to be so. There was a great feeling in England in favour of India's aspirations. With the improvement of the status of India, the position of the Indians in other places will be better. Before my return, I found that the domestic feeling that had been passed in the House of Commons and that there had been a great deal of excitement among the Indians here and which had also caused a great deal of feeling in India. But the Government had decided to appoint a commission to watch over the interests of Indians so that no engine may stretch to them. Some of you think I look down upon Indians, but that is not so I look up to them. They come from a very old civilisation—much older than ours. They are able to hold their own. We have the difference in South Africa, and we as a much white community cannot withdraw a great union of Indians. We would be crushed and overwhelmed if we had an open door. India if she is in need of cooperation for her surplus population, has the whole field of Mesopotamia, the Afghanistan, Tibet and Turkestan which can hold thirty millions of people. But even that the Indians are here. I hold they should have their treatment in all parts of the Union. We have to live side by side in co-operation and we must endeavour to understand each other's standpoint so that we may live and grow together. We are members of one family and belong to the same Empire. I thank you again for the beautiful address and the over-look on which to put the address. Mr. Montagu will be glad to have the kindly reference made to him. I thank you all most much.

### HANDLOOM WRAYING IN GUJARAT

Mr. Rajendra Gandhi in his third article of his series on this subject sketches a history of the handloom industry in the Satyagrahahar.

The last handloom, he says, was started in the Satyagrahahar five years ago i. e. towards the close of the current year 1913. For about ten months, we used to weave only Khadi and towels and most of us made small shawls and vests out of the Khadi. Then those who had returned with an experience of weaving obtained articles, began to weave handkerchiefs and finer cloth, embroidered by-handicrafts items of the Madras type, and began selling yarn

after the Madras fashion. But it was all uncertain work and it could not come to the level of the work of those days in the past years. We began to experience difficulties in weaving. We had not yet produced cloth suitable for women. One of the Indian women was in need of a garment. It was not easy to obtain a hand-woven one in the market. She suggested that she would be permitted to have a well-woven one, but she was disappointed. She was told, 'Where will you acquire, or do without it.' That was really disappointed her, and lost her interest. But the disappointment and loss were unnecessary. The handloom industry had the desired effect. The Indian went to the city and obtained a hand-woven cloth which would meet his need, and he was wearing one of a cloth of 20 inches width. The experiment was successful and this gave a help to the industry. In the end of the current year 1918 there were three looms and three by-handicrafts looms working in the district. On the new year day, we began to take stock of work done during the past year. Our work was mostly weaving and the work of the hand and of the machine was not very profitable. It was, however, realised that before the start of the new year every one should have enough to be capable to weave cloth sufficient for himself. And everyone had his loom in the district. In about six months' time four by-handicrafts looms were added. There were now ten looms in all working at the time. We used to work nearly 8 hours during the day. Mr. Gandhi himself used to work over four hours on the loom. Three by-handicrafts looms used to turn out cloth of 24 to 30 inches width, and each turned out three or four yards of such cloth at the end of the day. Cloth of smaller breadth could be turned out on the side of one yard per hour. That is to say, most of us began to turn out work during in the market a daily wage of 8 to 12 annas. While most were thus going on again without any without the industry, the industry entered on a new stage. It was up to now that it was a rural industry. We now removed to our present place near the Suburban. Had there we had purchased some place of land. We had an even a hat ready and we had to one whole house. Pigeons was then being in and about Ahmedabad and as the day in town on the first proved a preference in, though our weaving came for a time to a standstill. We then began to order our arrangements. The weaving-shed which is presently seen from the Railway track at a distance over the Suburban Railway bridge, was then constructed. There began a life of pathetic interest about the construction of this shed. When Ahmedabad was the centre but you of a general strike, and when the workers led by Mr. Gandhi offered a peaceful resistance to the mill-owners, hundreds of these laborers as well as a number of those who sympathized with them have turned back to the shed on their shoulders for the plucking of the shed. Weaving is now going on in full living in this shed. A number of students are learning to do it there and those who have learnt the art have been sent out for the propagation of spinning and weaving.

## THAKAR DAS'S CASE.

## HIS WIFE'S PETITION.

PETITION TO THE JUDGE.

The humble petition of Man Parbat's wife of Thakur Das village, son of Gaur Chand of Bangla, Distt. Gurgaonwala, in the Punjab, most respectfully sheweth—

1. That your humble petitioner's husband's petitioner is quite aware of the fact that Your Excellency's presence here is, at present, much occupied with the consideration of important questions of state, but your petitioner humbly trusts and believes that your Excellency is always ready to listen to and address the grievances of even the humblest of His Majesty's subjects. Motivated by this belief your petitioner begs to press at the following facts for your Excellency's most gracious and merciful consideration :

2. That your humble petitioner's husband was tried with 5 other persons and convicted by J. D. Poonj, Esq., I. C. & Special Magistrate, Shikharpora, Distt. Gurgaonwala, holding power of a Summary Court under Section 144, and sentenced on 2nd June 1919, with 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine under Section 143 I. P. C. for being a member of an unlawful assembly.

3. That your humble petitioner applied for a copy of the judgment, to the Officer in charge of the Gunning Department in the Gurgaonwala District, to the J. D. & G. Northern Command and to the Legal B. Commissioner in the Punjab Government, but none of them supplied her with the requisite copy.

4. That your Excellency's humble petitioner has sent an application for money to the Local Government but it was returned with the remarks that your petitioner should apply to the General Officer Commanding 1st Divisional Division. In compliance with this order your petitioner made an application (copy enclosed) to the General Officer Commanding in June 1919 but a week more I am sorry, to find application your Excellency's humble petitioner submitted among other things—

(a) That the trial of her innocent husband for the Summary Court under Section 144, I. P. C. by my without production, was also void.

(b) That what is my of being a member of an unlawful assembly the prosecution evidence did not disclose my offence against the accused, and

(c) That the maximum punishment prescribed by the Legislature under Section 143, I. P. C. is not less than death, the accused Special Magistrate had acted ultra vires, and illegally in sentencing by and 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine, in that direction of the law.

5. That your petitioner with a 191919 sentence applied to the District the Local Government of the Punjab (copy enclosed) and drew the Revenue's

land revenue particularly to the clothing of the petition.

6. That your humble petitioner is now given to understand that the Government of the Punjab has been pleased to reduce the sentence passed on her husband from 2 years to one year's rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine, for which your petitioner is thankful to Her Excellency. But in face of the fact that your petitioner's husband is wholly and absolutely innocent and that the sentence passed on him was, and the reduced sentence still is, in excess of what is the maximum limit authorized by law (see 4 months) under section 143, I. P. C., your petitioner is not at all satisfied with the sentence so lightly granted by the Local Government in a general way, and without, it seems, going into the merits of the case.

7. That your petitioner's husband comes of a loyal family in the Rawalpindi District. He is a young man of good character. He was the main stay and the sole breadwinner of a large family. He could hardly earn more twenty rupees a month which was not more than two annas in those days of scarcity and famine. The punishment of two years' rigorous imprisonment and even the reduced punishment of one year plus Rs. 200 fine is neither justified nor authorized by law under section 143, I. P. C. and is far too severe for your petitioner's innocent husband and a deathblow to the whole family.

8. That your humble petitioner's husband has been in the police lock-up for about a month before trial, and is put in a cell for the last four months and the maximum imprisonment authorized by law long as a month only, if any sentence is to be shown it should be shown before six months' exposure.

9. That it is humbly and respectfully prayed that as no act of violence took in British justice and of royal dominion, your Excellency may be graciously pleased to show mercy to your petitioner's helpless and innocent husband by ordering his immediate release and remission of fine, for which act of justice and grace your petitioner will ever pray for your Excellency's long life and the stability of the British Raj.

Yours Excellency's humble petitioner,  
Man Parbat, wife of Thakur Das.  
Gurgaon.

RECEIVED  
Dated 16-10-1919.

PETITION TO THE J. D. & G. RAWALPINDI DIVISION.

The humble petition of Manmohari Parbat's wife of Thakur Das village, son of Gaur Chand of Bangla Distt. Gurgaonwala, Distt. Gurgaonwala, most respectfully sheweth—

1. That your humble petitioner's husband, was tried with 5 other persons and convicted by J. D. Poonj, Esq., I. C. & Special Magistrate, Shikharpora on 2nd June 1919, with 2 years' rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200 fine under section 143 of the Indian Penal Code for being a member of an unlawful assembly.

1. That our petitioner had presented an application for mercy to His Hon. the Local Governor of the Punjab, but this application has been returned with the remarks that your petitioner should apply to you.

2. That the effect of holding a meeting and obscuring burial on the 25th April 1918 could not be made under Martial Law, the proceedings of the Special Magistrate were without prohibition and also since the following order—

(a) Because the meeting & the burial took place on the 25th April 1918 and Martial Law was declared much after that date.

(b) The offence was not triable under the Martial Law Ordinance.

(c) That the Martial Law prohibition had ceased to exist on 31st March, the Special Magistrate before 2nd June 1918. Your petitioner had been released at an earlier date.

4. That your petitioner's husband was entirely innocent. The statements of the prosecution-witnesses as were recorded, fabricated, coloured, inconsistent and conflicting. They did not establish the offence of being a member of an unlawful assembly against my innocent husband, nor did they establish to my husband the use of any particular improper language or unlawful conduct. On the other hand the statements of Wagon, Dhotia, Thakur, and Berta, prosecution witnesses declare how great provocation, insult and aggression was exercised on them by the Police to fabricate all the evidence on this date.

5. That the same prosecution witnesses were hostile to my husband on account of the rivalry and competition between the firms with whom they are employed—

His name Datta P. W. is an Agent of Bhoji Singh Co.

For Berta and Bhoji Singh P. W. belong to Bhoji Singh Co., while my husband Thakur Datta is the Local Sub-Division of Laxmi Deylax and Co.

From Singh P. W. stands his previous rivalry and competition both with my husband and my father-in-law.

4. That the prosecution evidence on this date shows at least that the Bhoji people including even the prosecution witnesses held a lawful meeting on the 25th April 1918 to offer a hostile and respectful protest against the Bhoji Act. They closed their shops for a few hours the same day to express their sense of grievance. Copies of the Notifications passed on that meeting were sent to the Punjab Government for review of consideration. Such meetings were held and burial observed all over the country. It was not forbidden by law till then. Such meetings have been held by the Punjab Government against trials at Lahore, if no disturbance is taken place.

7. That some 125 men were arrested on the subject under the common offence of holding meetings and obscuring burial on 25-4-1918. Out of them 124 were let off by the Police after a few days' detention. Of the remaining eight one Jagan Singh has been acquitted by the Special Magistrate on the evidence of the prosecution witnesses against him was considered to be false. If the evidence of the

prosecution witnesses was disbelieved or was not considered sufficient against one person, how could the same evidence be true or sufficient against my innocent husband and the others concerned?

3. That my husband had done half a dozen deaths, witnesses ready on Court but the Special Magistrate rejected the statements of two of them only and refused to take the rest. The deaths witnesses were leading persons of the town and the Special Magistrate has taken no notice of their statements which were trustworthy & reliable.

2. That there has been no disturbance whatsoever in Bhoji. No life or property was damaged or put to fear. There was only a lawful meeting in peaceful manner convened in a lawful manner and conducted in an humble and respectful spirit.

12. That the deceased petitioner mentioned by the Legislature never became I. P. O. in no capacity whatsoever, but the learned Special Magistrate has thought fit to arrest even the common sense of law in as much as he has awarded two years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200/- fine to my entirely innocent husband.

11. That my husband comes of a loyal and respectable family. He is a young man of an respectable character. He has a large family of six children present. His father is of sixty years of age. He has a girl of tender years. He was the main stay and the sole bread winner to the family. He could hardly earn more Rs. 24/- per month which was not more than half centime on those days of scarcity and famine. We are very poor people and possess no property movable or immovable worth the name.

The punishment of two years rigorous imprisonment and Rs. 200/- fine which was neither justified nor authorized in law, is for the severe for my innocent husband and a death blow to the whole family.

10. That in view of the fact that my innocent husband had been in the prison lock up for about a month before trial and had endured all the harsh steps including threats, that he would have been in Jail for some considerable time before release and that a fine of fifty thousand rupees is said to have been imposed on the town of Bhoji, I as family and respectfully prayed that as an act of clemency your honour may be pleased to show mercy to my helpless and innocent husband by ordering his immediate release and remission of fine, for which act of justice and mercy your petitioner and the whole of her family will ever pray for your Honour's long life and the stability of the British Reg.

Present to the British Government.

The Petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab is in the same words as above. Vol. V, L.

#### BUSINESS NOTICE

All communications regarding subscriptions, which should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India" (Circular) Road, Allahabad, and all correspondence and printed matter to be inserted in this paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Allahabad.

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## Registered Libraries

When we published in "Young India," the Executive of Public Instruction's letter in reply, 1906. Gandhi's on the subject of delivery of certain papers from registered libraries, we have been having letters of inquiry as to whether the words "under no circumstances" in the papers mentioned in your letter" in the Director's letter, represent the cancellation of the orders regarding libraries only in the papers named by Mr. Gandhi. We felt this and we still feel that the cancellation applies, at least to all the other papers named, and that the Director's order did not think it necessary to make a statement regarding other papers when Mr. Gandhi mentioned specific papers in his letter. There is however no doubt that Mr. Gandhi mentioned the papers that he did on some instances, as will appear from this sentence in Mr. Gandhi's letter: "I find for instance, that 'Young India' is prohibited." And Mr. Government, we think, could not have misinterpreted Mr. Gandhi to have meant only the three journals named in his letter. In fact the application of cancellation to the three papers exclusively is untenable, for we cannot imagine any special reasons that could have led the Government to select those papers for a favored treatment. Under these circumstances we urge on the Government the necessity of issuing a fresh order annulling the cancellation of the orders of restriction in respect of all papers banned from registered libraries.

## The Wish is Father to the Thought

It might well be found copy of a telegram from the Indian Association, P.O., to Mr. C. F. Andrews, advised the various sections of the Association there as directed and Mr. Andrews asked to represent writers to the Government of India, especially because the Government of Fiji is sending a delegation of officials and a Bishop to conduct Mr. Andrews in India and to induce removal of Indian immigration to Fiji. It is obvious from the telegram that the Association contemplates with dread the Government's proposals and has begged Mr. Andrews to represent writers. But the 'Englishman' has read a different meaning in the telegram as appears from the following comments on it:

The late C. F. Andrews has been frequently discredited of late by the telegraphists of the Indian Association at Fiji in the statement that of all the leaders of the Indian community there there has been no one who has been able to make the Fiji Government consider the removal of Indian immigration to Fiji on various grounds. Now the Indians of Fiji who telegraphed against their demands and the immigration will be surprised. Poor Mr. Andrews!

What could be a better specimen of the wish being father to the thought?

Reverend Commissioner, 29th October 1919.

## A FUGITIVE PRISONER

(By R. E. Smith.)

When Lal Bahadur is a young man of twenty-four with a young wife and an aged father twenty-two years old he belongs to the Nagpura branch and was sentenced to transportation with forfeiture of property. He had "served out against the law." He won the prescription and he found the court. His honor the Lord Governor has now noted the sentence to that of four years' imprisonment. Poor comfort to a prisoner who is sentenced as to his father who is on the verge of death.

And so poor Lal Bahadur has lost another prisoner as "the prisoner that through some system mistake has been has not been carefully guarded. The prisoner is convincing enough. It is so well known that it will run away. It is almost three days without any supervision and is kept enough even for a busy reader.

A friend told me the other day that after forty years of life devoted to the spreading of British justice, the Punjab had undervalued him. He no longer believed in British justice. He said with disdain energy, "I do not care a straw for your reforms, what can they do to me if my liver and my honor be not safe and we stand in peril of being wrongly imprisoned?"

Well, the case of Lal Bahadur seems to be one such. It is probably one of the most serious. The young man would appear to be perfectly innocent. The prisoner is not stated to have been connected with or present at the meeting on the 4th and the 5th April or on the 21st or the 22nd April. The principal witness's evidence is merely hearsay. The other witnesses is stated to be stated, and even if true, the facts seem to do not disclose any offence. The evidence given for the prisoner by respectable and impartial witnesses as recorded by the court. The reader has by this time known sufficient of the Punjab prisoners not to feel surprised at such statements of the general courts. But is however surprising is the fact that even now when perfect legal justice in the Punjab courts of justice do not require the attention they deserve at the hands of the Lord Governor. No government deserves respect which both cheap the liberty of the subject as the Punjab Government seem to do.

## THE THREATS OF BATTERIES IN FIDUTIA

Writing on 2008, that great darkness, the late Mr. Bode said, "Only on the batteries will there be political peace, cooperation, racial sympathy and racial unions of kind, the crushing bitterness of the reef, hammering and pounding under their stormous wings the hapless Asiatic Community." The translation of the Asia-Asiatic League in FIDUTIA printed on another page will show that the mood of the batteries has at the present moment risen to a zone. There appears to be no question as to the side on which justice lies. The very existence of the zone has brought the truth in its prominent relief. The FIDUTIA has characterized the proceedings as the "bells of hell." The "Johannesburg Star" pressed strongly for intervention on both sides and said:

(1901000)

If they persist in making unreasonable claims, as claims which are rejected by the overwhelming majority of the White population of South Africa, they will antagonize their own interests. On the other hand they are on fine ground as demanding just and fair treatment, liberty to carry on their business and to do their work, whatever it may be, so long as they obey the laws of the land, and conform to the regulations laid down.

The danger of competition by underbidding of the wages and prices can be met without resorting to such measures as were advocated at Pretoria. The relief of confusion and opposition is a far more efficacious, and only does harm to the reputation of this country further afield. Even in Australia which is really entitled to talk of "White-on-White" there are 40,000 Asiatics who are free men, and neither hindered nor harassed by discriminating laws. Australia rightly desires to close the door on further influx. The FIDUTIA, too, has the right, and deserves, whatever consideration is possible for Asiatics who have been permitted to settle on her shores to make a living.

Even the "Good Daily Mail" admitted that something was to be done for "a considerable population of Africans here who have no land but this" and observed in its columns the reply of the justice of the peace's case, in reply to some irresponsible statements of Captain J. Blackwell. Above all the deep sympathy of General Smuts and his recognition of the fact that justice must be done to these Indians who are already in South Africa, stood in refreshing contrast to the selfish selfishness of the speakers at the Congress. The "Times of India" agrees that most of the resolutions are in substance as to be sympathetic to the cause of cooperation, but it thinks that "they express the feelings of the most majority in the Transvaal." This is hardly correct. It is only the petty European trader that feels the pinch of the Indian trader, and whose cause is opposed by the consent of the Congress. A vast majority of the Transvaalians who support the Indian trade with their votes and in various other ways, give practical proof of their friendliness towards him rather than their opposition. For while we say that we agree with the "Times of India" in its call for submission for us by persuasion and intervention

on our part, we, part of us in India and elsewhere in South Africa, think the gold as well as the silver and steel of the working of the Indian trade, the fact, and trade industry. We therefore sincerely cooperate with those who of the "Times of India" "Let the Indian in South Africa and particularly in India show forbearance and restraint, and let them spend the material as seeing to it that their work shall be presented to the community in the best and fairest light. But the Indian case will not be presented in the fairest and best light unless the Government of India insists on placing a strong Indian element in the forthcoming Commission to represent our interests. We hope the member about the conversion of the Hon. for Secretary to the Commission at once. He can be trusted to do full justice to the change suggested to his case."

## INDIANS IN FIJI

OY DE BRITAIN (1901000)

In the final meeting of the cabinet meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council has been today the Ministry made a few remarks about the Fiji Indians. There and the Fiji Legislature coming to India during the cold weather. These remarks of the Ministry have been given by some papers with great surprise, while others have given them unqualified praise. An example of the latter class I may quote the "Young India" of Bombay. This paper remarks: "The announcement about Fiji too is unexceptionable, indeed highly satisfactory and we are entitled to hope that before long and certainly before the year closes, we shall receive the last of the Indians in Fiji."

Unfortunately Lord Chelmsford's Government has never been very clear about this subject and therefore its announcements regarding this subject have had themselves to different interpretations. On the one hand Lord Chelmsford wishes to show to the Indian public that his government has been very careful throughout in this matter, while on the other hand he wants to please the colonists and the planters also. In fact he is ready to help them as much as he can. Now these two things cannot go together. Lord Chelmsford tries to satisfy both, the public opinion in India and the white planters in the Colonies, but his efforts have no better chance of success than those of a man who tries to please God and the Devil at the same time. Thus in the relation why has no announcement about the subject one way. Under these circumstances it would have been much better if there, who have given us unqualified approval to the Ministry's speech had posed a better and solved this announcement in the light of the following questions:

1. How the previous announcements of Lord Chelmsford's Government have clear about this subject? If so, do they give us any assurance that he has realized the importance of the question?
2. How the Secretary's Government have so













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## Notes.

### The Satyagrahi Lawyers

The judgment of the High Court in the case of the Satyagrahi Lawyers is to say the least, highly unsatisfactory. It has shocked the mass. The logical outcome of the judgment, should have been punishment and not a postponement of it. The lawyers in question had shown no repentance. So far as the public know, they will be ready to offer such disturbances should the occasion arise. The mass having been misled, the lawyers did not ask for money but a clear decision as to what they do not know where they are.

The learned judges have laid down principles of legal conduct which in our trouble situation are open to question. For instance what is the meaning of "those who live by the law must keep the law." It means that no lawyer may ever consent a third branch without observing the disciplines of the Court, it means other disciplines. Lawyers are the persons most able to appreciate the dangers of bad legislation and it must be with them a sacred duty by consulting well to bring improved national laws. Lawyers should be guardians of law and liberty and as such are interested in keeping the statute book of the country pure and unadulterated. But the judges of the Bombay High Court have permitted to show a necessary man of their profession and have even uncoloured the functions of judges and lawyers. The only escape from the intolerable situation created by the judgment

is for the respondents to have the mass returned to the land, engaged and to ask for a final decision. Fortunately the judges have left that course open to the last again to lawyers.

### Help the Orphans

For millions of Hindus to-morrow is the new year's day. We make thousands of fire works. We spend hundreds of thousands in feasts and sending presents to friends. Those who have very spend on that place the wealthy may except. We would only suggest that the night before only after the halpina and the early have been provided for. The Pooja has been waiting since April last. Pooja's work places have recently suffered from devastating floods. There needs has a benevolent hand that they are wandering without food and shelter. Some Poojas are doing splendid work. We hope that our Hindu masters will specially remember the orphans of the Pooja and Pooja in the midst of their new year's revelry and supply the bare necessities with the necessary funds. Mr. Atulchandra Thakur of the 2nd house of India Society has reported upon the nature of the distress which is terrible enough to command the attention of the wealthy men and daughters of India.

### Unsubscribes are Hindus.

Professor Dharma writes to us as follows:-

Write an editorial article in a recent issue of "Young India" I am reported to have said, addressing the "unsubscribes".

It is the duty of us Hindus to help you in every way.

I could not have said "we Hindus", nor could I have spoken in such a patronising tone (if I did I could never have meant it). For I have long been holding the opinion very strongly that the so called "unsubscribes" have no such right to be classed as "Hindus" as any one of us. If I used the word "we" suggesting differentiation from the persons addressed, started he to the name of the so-called "Upper Classes" or that any person, only referred to the duty of the Upper Classes to encourage every educational movement of the "unsubscribes" and was not intended to exclude the "unsubscribes" from the pale of Hinduism.

We have learnt exactly what Professor Shreeves said in his letter. Since as he was addressing from a platform which included our Hindustanis. We have however published Professor Shreeves' letter but we cannot have it too often. For it is so that the so-called internationalism is an integral part of Hindu thought. We wish that many orthodox Hindus had the same regard for the honour of Hinduram as the learned Professor has.

## Young India

Published Wednesday, 22nd October 1919

### KHILAFAT DAY

The 17th October will long be remembered as a great day in Indian history. That a big demonstration like this was organized for the 17th October, should have paid off without a hitch, reflects the greater credit on the organizers and is indeed a triumph of Satyagraha. People have come to realize that not by violence but by peaceful demonstration and united effort are great issues to be won. As soon as the people came to that issue, no man will Government find it to be useless, and only those few thousand from that lot who are positively unwilling to see Satyagraha. There is authority enough like some conscious of violence from the people. The art of government generally consists in having others independent of us to determine people into submission. And a government is an instrument of service only in so far as it is based upon the will and the consent of the people. It is an instrument of oppression when it is inconsistent with the point of the highest expression therefore comes when people come to face the tyrannous. And this is Satyagraha—to hold on to truth in the face of overwhelming odds, whether in the shape of the brute force of a government or the unreasoning prejudice of the petty tyrannical caste.

The organizers of Khilafat Day seem to have recognized this cardinal principle. They would have played themselves into the hands of their opponents if they had directly or indirectly prompted violence or as a matter of fact violence had come from the demonstration. The mass of Islam has passed by the peaceful nature of the demonstration. And if thinking to any extent in the police arrangements in the other places the police undoubtedly deserves the highest praise, for in Bombay as in Ahmedabad, as far as the police were concerned, there appeared to be no special preparations to be made. There was absence of all show of force. The presence of an extraordinary police force at the military stage indicates a

weak. The organizers deserve equal credit for avoiding mass meetings and everything leading to bring together large crowds of untrained and irresponsible people. The Khilafat is a delicate question. It has been rendered more complex by many troubles. But it is not yet beyond hope. Eight millions of Indian braves who justice is on their side, can make themselves felt anywhere. Our Mahomedan friends have therefore to recognize their own strength. The Friday demonstration, great though it was, may easily be battered away if it is not followed up by sustained and intelligent effort. The Government must realize what the Mahomedans feeling is. And they will only realize it when they see earnest effort and a due measure of suffering on the part of those who claim to feel so intensely. Continued presence of enlightened public opinion will not help His Majesty's ministers, if they wish to be helped in securing an honourable settlement of the Indian question. There must be no bluster, no threatening, no demonstration, no self-indulgent. There must be quiet and honest work.

There were resolutions passed at some meetings to the effect that Mahomedans will be unable to participate in peace demonstrations if the Khilafat question were settled on principles of justice or rather in accordance with the Mahomedan sentiment. This is the right of the subject. But if it is the general wish it must be clearly expressed and not in unorganized meetings.

There was too the question of boycott brought up by some. We have expressed ourselves on that matter in no uncertain terms. We do not believe in boycott because it breeds ill will and it is mostly ineffective. Boycott of goods is a challenge to the respect of the Government. We have all satyagraha. In a case is made out for boycotting the Government, we would not hesitate to support it. But boycott then spells disloyalty. Loyalty must be inseparable principle. It is central understanding a Government that is loyal to the government demands their loyalty as a matter of course. When our Government cannot be loyal it is it becomes systematically unjust or oppressive, we should unhesitatingly declare our disloyalty and withdraw and advise withdrawal of all forms of support of the Government. That is a form of boycott which we would deem it a duty to prohibit should the occasion arise. But boycott of British goods which we retain the British connection is in our opinion a blunder of the first magnitude.

But our Mahomedan friends have for too many a year to be trifled with the use of a questionable weapon like boycott. And they and the world now know that there is a mass not of eight crore. Eight millions but of the twenty-two crore. Hindu also. For the seventeenth October has shown that the Hindu Mahomedan bond is a reality and that it is a bond that is ever growing tighter. And a strong and united India cannot but be welcomed with respect and attention by the Allies of Great Britain.

# ENTRANCE IN FILM.

(Mr. Indrakumar whose contributions appeared in our last issue under the title *Shastriya Shiksha*, continues.)

Continued Article On G. F. Andrews.

We know Mr. Andrews very well. He is a man of mostly character. We know it from not being in any political party here. He is neither politician nor an agitator. Whenever he has to say anything about political subjects he does so with impartial and just of view and not with any political motives. We know he is very careful in making enquiries and in ascertaining facts. He has always been moderate in his statements. Now let us see how the gentleman has been treated by the Pij Government and the Pij planter.

## Pij Government's Knowledge.

The Honourable Mr. Martin brought forward the following resolution before the Pij Legislative Council "that the Council requests and disapproves with the reports concerning the conditions of Indians being circulated in Australia by Rev. G. F. Andrews which reports are found entirely highly coloured, misleading and in part untrue." The Honourable question referred to the 'real statements' made by Mr. G. F. Andrews and that many of them were "statements grossly exaggerated, misleading and totally untrue." Mr. Martin asked the speaker as follows:—

"I have to state that Your Excellency has conveyed to the proper quarter the matter and appealed for statements that have been made by Mr. G. F. Andrews but I feel that it is necessary that we in this Council should disagree entirely with those statements. This action has proved completely."

As it then was not considered enough condemnation of Mr. Andrews the Governor of Pij had a communication on the table of the Legislative Council "with special reference to writing statements made by Rev. G. F. Andrews." In the communication the Pij Governor says: "I consider that the reports which Mr. Andrews has furnished to his Indian leaders in India have not only an unjust and exaggerated view not only upon the employers of labour and Government, but also the European Government of this Colony. I consider the European Government because it is once, as that public opinion is formed, and I should be reluctant to think that public opinion would have tolerated a state of affairs such as Mr. Andrews has depicted" and then the Governor proceeded: "I do not hesitate to say that the man who makes it a custom of the past a pretext for closing the door against immigration from India in the future will be doing a lasting disservice to our Indian subjects in that Empire."

Encouraged by these statements the public papers, planter, and the private companies in Pij have directed all the named Indian leaders to their heart's content. I have now written the following paragraph paragraph in the annual report of the C.S.E. Company which is the real ruler of Pij.

Continuing attacks on the Company in various

Australian newspapers show the conditions under which the Indian labour laboured and worked in Pij directly necessary to say that all details of the living conditions of these people and their relations with employers are closely ordered in accordance with regulations laid down by the Indian and Colonial Governments. The attack though apparently directed at the company is really on the Pij Government, and it is, we believe, misguiding and carried out by the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in India. So Lord Hardinge and the late Mr. Giddebah who were for the most part responsible for the abolition of ministerial system came under the company. They along with Mr. Andrews belonged to a party which had for its main object the weakening of British Rule in India.

A series of articles were contributed to the Pij Times and Herald of April 1939. These have been now published in a pamphlet form. Here is a specimen of information contained in the previous pamphlet.

"Messrs. Andrews and Pearce visited Pij in 1918, and claimed that they were mainly actuated by humanitarian motives in the interests of the Indians, although Mr. Andrews admitted that the expenses of their journey were provided by a certain organisation in India, the leaders of which—Tilak and Gandhi—have been prominent protagonists in the campaign against British Rule in India."

The native extremists, Tilak and Gandhi, with Mr. Andrews in their spokesman were forced to adopt fresh tactics."

Here is another extract from the Pij Times and Herald of 26th April 1939.

"The general manager of the C. S. & Co. Company, rightly or wrongly, declined to see Mr. Andrews on his last trip to Australia and Pij. The same thing happened and probably his party spoke Andrews, at a late hour, decided to turn Australia in a campaign against the C. S. & Co. Company. He is maintaining it in India at the present time, and has influenced opinion there to such an extent that it is the subject of a study of it. The report of the properly constituted Government representative is circulated in favour of the report of a person representing only a political party in India not to achieve their object by any means but rather. The tactics are typically Indian certainly not British."

The C. S. & Co. Herald of 26th February 1938 made a leading article against Mr. Andrews, which it was said "The wonder is that the name of Sanghera is the end of the Australian does not even in the course of his representation in Pij by taking the man and empty him with out any sort of the Commissioner. The Australian at his best is as good as the best of any other authority. He does not claim to be better, but he rightly claims being treated with the same treatment by the best of people whose only object is life seems to be to stir up trouble and discontent wherever he finds his foot. We have reason to believe that the Government of this colony have not held on the fair-mindedness of the British of Pij and we hope to see some highly expression of this spirit."

Almost every letter, that I received from my friends in Fiji, brings the information that the Planets of Fiji are alleging that Mr. Andrews has neglected the fate of Fiji Islands. Of course the Fiji Starboard expected that Mr. Andrews would whitewash the defects of the Indemnity system like Moore. The South-Chinese-Led but that sort of 'pamper' couldn't fall into the trap of the Planets and so they are naturally very much disappointed. We sympathize with the Fiji Planets in their disappointment, and as regards blackening the face of Fiji, we should tell them that with the unique advantage of having the highest caste rule amongst Indemnified Indians, the face of Fiji was bright as possible. Indeed it is glowing with brightness.

In the leading article of the Fiji Times of 2nd February 1919 the reputation of Mr. Andrews is referred to as: 'the nation and the leading officers of all the government, politicians who has the unfortunate habit of letting his head for the Indian case, every, with his discretion' and Mr. Andrews resembled a striking general who every going as a champion of Indians and stomach of with his supporters.

I can go on quoting these tributes to Mr. Andrews as well as many number of pages, but they are so disgusting that I shall not continue them.

Now why we ask Lord Chelmsford 'Do these things really show that the Fiji Government and Fiji people are really sincere as to what is right?' The Viceroy has not said a single word about these misadventures except of the Fiji Europeans. The Fiji Planets themselves says that Mr. Andrews belongs to the class of men 'who make misstatements and of the Government is limited to mislead very often by stating dishonest or by magnifying persons which may cause' and the Viceroy answers as that Fiji Europeans are really sincere as to what is right. What has the Young India to say about it? Certainly there is another 'unreliable' one highly satisfactory indeed.

I may tell him an interesting story about Mr. Andrews. When he was making his report on Fiji he was threatened that if he went to the district of all this he would be charged with some planter. Mr. Andrews was not frightened, he went to the district, but fortunately for he was spared. This incident itself is not sufficient to give a rough idea of the character of those exploiters of Indian labour who are sending their dependents to India to get labourers.

#### MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION OF FIJI INDIANS

Four years a municipality was established in Fiji at Suva, all employees without distinction of race, were allowed to vote at the municipal elections. This was the year 1914, but at once as the war began the whole population of Fiji began to make efforts to disfranchise the Fiji Indians. The idea of doing this referred to Indians had been on the mind of the whole people since 1879 when Sir Henry Jackson of Fiji wrote to the secretary of state for the colonies 'I do not think it necessary to provide representation for the Indian and Polynesian classes which has shown itself very open to corruption at the municipal elections.' This idea was given a

practical shape by Messrs. J. E. Thomas, R. M. Short and H. Marks. These Honourable members tried their utmost to deprive nearly all Indian representatives of their vote. They argued in the assembly that Indian vote were 'illiterate vote' and only when a man can read, write and speak English he can think for himself. So an English education test was set up for the purpose of voting and thus poor Indians lost the right which they enjoyed since 1914. This clearly shows that the whole population of Fiji did not learn anything from the war. On the other hand they forget that they owed a duty to their hapless fellow subjects in the Empire.

I have read and heard the announcements of the Government of India about Fiji affairs, but I have noticed across a single passage against their injustice. Of course we need not expect from Lord Chelmsford a Government which is always ready to desperately maintain any display of injustice towards the good faith of the colonial states and the colonies Governments.

(To be Continued)

#### THE HOME IS THE HEART OF THE NATION

BY

MR. CHANDER S. ANANDAN

It seems an very great plan to correspond to the request of the House of Commons for a short notice. 'Change with special appeals to our house of 12 members the nation's rights, it is a message to the Indian home, to the first Indian home was to the uneducated Indian home with its share and its members, its principles and its principles from the house, from the 12. The simple Indian home where people first in the simple Indian style, the gift, and the knowledge of 12 was upon the terms. And then, this is the request to our nation, being brought to India instead of self-sufficiency, but not, of foreign countries.

'Change with 12, I find, became a powerful force in the direction of producing a beautiful simple life, to the Indian home. The home is the heart of India, and of the home in our own India, and I am sure, that of the home, in fact, it is a member of the home, because if such members of the home live in an Indian should live, and not try to live in other people's life, then the home will generate strength and possibilities, and then strength and possibilities of the home will help to make India strong and powerful, but our own daughters prospered throughout the world, but religious and traditions continued, and for several years ago by Western countries, who are present the one have that India has much to give to the world. But if it is to be true that Western people are whole are not yet ready to receive the teaching, we must also try that India must be itself as India, the teaching.' But also not, therefore, enough that she should maintain? How can she reach of the heart, has forgotten the teaching? The answer has come in to being answered, but that whole it may be true, as the Indian tell her, that she has a mission to the world, the more, if she desires to be successful in giving a welcome to her message, then she directed her mind out of her children, trying to find out how an Indian should live his daily life so that India may be satisfied with men and daughters who strive to become worthy of their noble heritage.

One of the first things to whether an individual is



who have given in their names as members of the Satyagrahi League —

Members: Chaglam Ramchandra Dabholkar, Keshabdas Maral Doss, High Court Pleader, Manohar Vallabhdas Keshari, Keshabdas Shastri, Keshabdas Shastri.

There are others who have not yet given in their names to me.

3. I had an interview with the above gentlemen on the 11th and expressed my confidence and appreciation both with some sort of satisfactory explanation of the action which they took the Satyagrahi Oath. They have furnished an explanation which I do not think is satisfactory. I therefore release the case for action, as I suppose the question is general to all districts.

4. As I understand the Satyagrahi Oath, it binds the undersigned not only to oppose the Rowlatt Acts, and impugns legislation, but in itself, all laws of whatever kind which a community may decide should be better. I gather also from the papers that some Chaglam has been already released. I cannot recall now that the public authorities to a body which has that the binding on it is consistent with the duty of a pleader and the duties of his usual. And I think the explanation is made by the pleaders leave matters much where they are.

5. I am not in any way impressed by the temporary suspension of the discipline of the lawyers. There can be no doubt that I have issued that suspension is merely advice, to avoid the possibility of punishment falling on the Satyagrahi in respect of acts directly or indirectly due to their teaching and influence. The actual perpetration of which and the direct suspension of which are likely to meet with serious punishment.

6. I am of the belief that the above gentlemen are naturally well-meaning and in order the impression that the Rowlatt Acts legislation is a crime, and as they have that impression I would not blame them for going on the edge of the law to oppose it. They are fully men for whom I have considerable esteem, and I have known them and appreciated them for some years, and it is very painful for me to make them run, but I am of the opinion that they are right to persist until they have secured their release from this league in the most public way so that they have joined it.

7. There are also at least two lawyers who have joined and are prominent members of the local league. — Mr. Jaganlal Vignes Doss, Mr. Vallabhdas Keshari, Doss, Keshabdas Shastri and Mr. Vallabhdas Keshari, explaining their conduct as the District Judge had expressed an interview with them on the 11th of April. It will be noted that the District Judge did not consider this explanation satisfactory and that he considered that these four pleaders were unfit to practice and they had, indeed,

#### EXPLANATION NOT SATISFACTORY.

In replying the letter was expressed what is known as the "Satyagrahi Oath" and letters to the District Judge from Messrs. G. B. Dabholkar, Keshabdas Maral Doss, Keshabdas Shastri and Mr. Vallabhdas Keshari, explaining their conduct as the District Judge had expressed an interview with them on the 11th of April. It will be noted that the District Judge did not consider this explanation satisfactory and that he considered that these four pleaders were unfit to practice and they had, indeed,

their connection with the Satyagrahi League in the same public way in which they had joined it. With regard to Messrs. Jaganlal Vignes Doss and Vallabhdas Keshari, Doss, Keshabdas Shastri, who, the Judge stated, had joined were prominent members of the local league, the judge said he had no power to deal with them.

The action was taken under clause 13 of the Letters Patent. A similar action was also taken on Messrs. G. B. Dabholkar, Manohar Vallabhdas Keshari, and Keshabdas Shastri under clause 14 of the Bombay Regulations II of 1912. Cases have now been started by all the respondents and it has been submitted by the Government Advocate who appeared for Messrs. J. V. Doss, G. B. Dabholkar, and K. B. Doss that whether they are to be dealt with under clause 13 of the Letters Patent or clause 14 of the Bombay Regulations II of 1912, the same principle is to be applied.

In the case of the "Government Pleader, High Court of Bombay vs. Ananji Narayan Deshpande" 1 L. R. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

"These findings will not entitle a person to a definition of 'reasonable man' as to his duty and the duty of the undersigned of the Letters Patent in this respect. Every case must depend upon its own facts and circumstances. It is obvious that the intention of the Court was to give a wide discretion to the High Courts in India in regard to the exercise of the disciplinary jurisdiction."

The power of a court in dealing with the case is alleged to be a matter of discretion and discretion is a matter of fact. The High Court in the case of the "Government Pleader, High Court of Bombay vs. Ananji Narayan Deshpande" 1 L. R. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

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the advocate has a certain duty, as when a person has been being admitted as an agent, although he was not acting in the precise character of an attorney, to take care that he is qualified."

#### HOW THE REPRESENTATIVE ONE OF THEM WOULD

It is not suggested that the respondents have done anything which would subject them to criminal prosecution, but that such is reflected unfavorably by the fact that we can deal with the respondents in the same way as if they were now applying for admission.

It is necessary therefore to carefully consider the terms of the document known as the *Hyatpacha* with or pledge, which according to the copy sent to us by the *Hyatpacha* type as follows:

"Being unanimously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Councils Law (Amendment) Bill II of 1918 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill II of 1918 amongst others are of the principles of liberty and justice, and therefore of the absolute rights of citizenship in which the safety of the community as a whole and the state itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and that they are withdrawn we shall refuse strictly to obey, them and will either join in a Committee to be formed appointed may think fit, and further affirm that in that struggle we will faithfully follow truth and refuse from violence to life, person or property. The movement to return legislation to the state commenced in February. I may say at once that none are voluntarily object to the right of a person to express his opinion as to the merits or demerits of a legislative measure proposed to be adopted by the Government and of the right of a person to take every means to induce Government to withdraw it provided he keeps within the law prescribed by established law. The respondents to the state have expressed their objection to these Bills which seem to be known as *Rowland* Bills and affirmed that they would strictly refuse to obey them if they became law. 'Civilians' according to the Dictionary mean in a public manner, publicly. It is suggested that civil or public disobedience is the name as what is known as passive resistance. That is not so. Passive resistance is a complete complete inaction in the presence of a command of law, that is to say, the refusal to do what the law commands, while disobedience includes the doing of something which is forbidden by law. Whether the disobedience is active or passive depends on the nature of the law which it is intended to disobey. Now we are concerned in this matter with the content of the *Hyatpacha* does not concern the *Advocates* and *Plaintiffs*. We have nothing to do with their political views, nor have we anything to do with expressions of opinion on their part however strong against any particular measure proposed by the Legislature. But a public declaration made by an *Advocate* or a *Plaintiff* that he has brought himself under to disobey any law which a Committee to be formed after appointed might think fit, appears to me to go very much further than a mere expression of opinion as to the merits of a Bill proposed by the Legislature. It takes for the purpose of the argument that the respondents, as Mr. Kennedy believes, were severely and unanimously under the impression that the *Rowland* Bill legislation was a crime, and that they therefore thought that joining the *Hyatpacha* pledge would be a constitutional form of expression against the passing of the *Rowland* Bills. But I have to consider whether the signing of such a pledge is consti-

tent with the duties which they owe as officers of the Court. *Advocates* and *Plaintiffs* are provided that entitled not only for the purpose of rendering assistance to the Courts in the administration of justice, but also for giving professional advice for which they are entitled to be paid, to those members of the public who require their services. Their position, training and practice give them intimate relations with the public and their example must necessarily have a much greater effect whether for good or for evil than the example of those who do not occupy the privileged position.

It is not necessary for me to be able to express my opinion that any officer should there have committed an act necessary that what the respondents have done should have subjected them to anything like general censure or suspension of bad character. The case *Van Nostrand v. P. G. Jones*, 1913, was cited on by the respondents. But I do not think that Lord Wrenbury's giving judgment must so far as to say that an act to render an attorney remaining in the Court as a practitioner or improper must necessarily be an act constituting an offence to anything like general censure for an impairment of bad character. That was an appeal from a decision of a Canadian Court and as regards the respondents in the case presently on of a different nature would have been a serious basis for the act complained of. Under the Letters Patent and the Regulations each case must be decided on its own facts as their knowledge of the *Hyatpacha* and in *Rowland* cases was not to my opinion that may be early which would enable us to refuse admission to a weak case seeking to be admitted as a *Plaintiff* or an *Advocate* to consider that it was improper that a *Plaintiff* or an *Advocate* should receive a professional of the Court, although the act complained of do not involve impairment of general nature or bad character. This pledge, however, was found to involve, if not directly, certainly indirectly, the professional character and reputation of the respondents. Their duty as *Plaintiffs* and *Advocates* under their Statute is to advise their clients to the best of their abilities as to what the law is and not as to what the law should be in their opinion, but it would be impossible for them to keep their duties to the League separate from their professional duties. This matter would become the more pronounced if any of the respondents had chosen to advise his client, regarding one of the laws denounced by the League.

#### ON THE BEHALF OF A LIAISON

On the *Hyatpacha* was asked whether his officers would be able to give advice concerning them to those who were without being influenced by their pledge and the *Hyatpacha* replied that they would give advice as lawyers concerning them and not as *Hyatpachas*. He was bound to say that, but the atmosphere of the Court before which he should have been arraigned, is somewhat different to the atmosphere of their working chambers as *Advocates*. Supposing for instance the *Hyatpacha* had denounced the League. Yet, the respondents would be bound by their pledge to refuse to sit in the *Hyatpacha* case to them for the purpose of assistance. If a client attended out of the room regarding the way in which the *Hyatpacha* should be filled in he would be on the verge of a dilemma. Every member of a League of the description of a respondent a respondent. To move at the desired end as many *Hyatpachas* would be gathered in as possible, an opportunity of doing so must be lost. It would therefore be the respondent's duty as a *Hyatpacha*

is particularly the duty to study the law which would be his duty as an officer of the law to tell the Court. In reply I repeat the remark I made at the time that it is extremely undesirable that any of those who hold such an important or placid position in the Court should find themselves involved in the conduct of duty. Then there is the danger of example being followed by persons who do not possess that high moral character, that love for the truth, that abhorrence of all kind of evidence to life, person or property possessed by the respondents. It would appear on the face of it that the signature to the pledge indicates all independent judgment by virtue of an advisory body of his fellow respondents. I am told that if the Committee referred to in the pledge calls upon the respondents in possession of those pledges, to do what is required by the respondents, perhaps they would not act in accordance with their pledge. If that is the case the signing of the pledge would be an admission of obligation on the part of the respondents to act according to their pledge and if a signature indicates himself wanted to form his own opinion whether he should follow the lead of the Committee or not, it follows that his pledge is worthless and he would much better have not signed it. But the public can only judge men by their actions, and the more apparent and less abashed if the public who sign the pledge will see the nature of their signature as an undertaking with the moral conventions of their fellow-signatories. A case would perhaps be presented if that those who have by the law should keep the law. I should certainly be desirous of a greater extent of this kind to inform what I have seen a signature to the pledge for I should not consider him a proper person to be involved in that privileged class referred to above. That being so, I should be inclined to say the matter the present comes on by the Court and Legislature that a person who had signed the pledge was not in power to be allowed to maintain amongst their colleagues that

They are not to the letter of explanation given by the plaintiff respondents to the District Judge I am not proud at the approving the opinion that they were not satisfactory. It must be remembered that these letters were written a few days after the famous case on the 18th and 19th April at Ahmedabad and though I do not for a moment suggest that any of the respondents took any part under thereby satisfactorily in those cases, it is not out of our own knowledge that there had been several meetings attended by thousands of well-known during the March and in April 10 days of April, which were convened all by the leaders of the Hyderabad Sabha. Whether these meetings had any connection with the subsequent case was a question which was not discussed during the course of the explanation, but it has already been the subject of judicial decision. The District Judge considered that he had no power to deal with the numerous-respondents, in the second instance to letter of explanation from them.

Mr. J. V. Ram, however, has put in an affidavit of the last month, a proceeding which cannot be considered as indicating that the knowledge of these cases have been admitted for the convenience of the respondents, while Mr. Patel withdrew themselves from the case for being represented before us by Mr. G. N. Thakur who

supported the arguments of the Committee on their attorney.

There is no need to deal in detail with Mr. Patel's affidavit. It is sufficient to say that it does him no credit. I have refrained from dealing with many points contained in the arguments of counsel for the respondents, which concern the procedure rather than the judge, and are therefore always open to controversy. They have said, "What are the duties of the respondents to the Court?"

I have wanted to wait for any acknowledgment on the part of the respondents that they have yielded in the verdict which have happened that however large and considerable they may have considered their movement when it was started, it is absolutely incompatible with their duty as lawyers in the High Court that they should continue to take part in it.

The Committee did not say that it might be that the Hyderabad movement would receive its present. He hoped and wanted that it had received its final judgement. That is doubtless true from my personal opinion, but in these very terms on the record that was also the opinion of the respondents.

The Committee also said, "It was open to the respondents to withdraw from the pledge. Then why does not he advise his clients to do so now?"

I wish to make it perfectly clear that apart from all other considerations those who are involved as advocates or pleaders of the High Court or of the District Courts cannot serve two masters. It may be that after due consideration of that question of my opinion, the respondents may see the benefit of it. We have no desire to deal harshly with them and for the present we shall content ourselves with giving them the warning. We do so because we are told that the Hyderabad Sabha since the 10th of April has been questioned whether we shall take any further steps despite entirely on the development, if any, of the Hyderabad movement, so that these letters will be adhered to with leave to the Ahmedabad and the respondents to move for their contribution to the Board should remain open.

#### A TELEPHONE INCIDENT

The Chief Justice at the end added—"In connection with these letters there has been a regrettable incident of which we are bound to take notice. An application was made to this Court by one of the respondents in their pleaders for removal of Mr. Kennedy's name. Copies were furnished and considering that the respondents were lawyers, it did not appear necessary to inform them that such copies were given to them for their private information and not for publication. That judge was published before the case came on for hearing in Court. Who is responsible for this lapse—we were repeat it as a very grave breach of a well recognized rule—we cannot say. We therefore say that the legal advisers of the respondents are from this time, if the respondents or respondents who published the letters, do not give in this or there name to the Legislature the House must for the present rest on all the respondents."



# YOUNG INDIA

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(Edited by M. K. GANDHI)

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## Notes.

**Some Figures**—J. A. W. writing to the 'Times of India' (25-8-1930) says—

We have in India 61.25 lakh spindles, 1.18 lakh looms, employing 1.02 lakh hands and consuming 22.32 lakh bales of cotton. We consumed in 1929, 112,000 bales less than in the previous year. We produced 86.11 crore lbs. of yarn, or about 2 per cent. less than in the previous year. We consumed 24 crore lbs. of yarn in producing 24.14 crore lbs. of cloth. About 11.80 crore lbs. were exported in foreign countries and about 21 crore lbs. were consumed in India.

The position of the industry today is much stronger than when it was at its lowest during the war and the profits for the current year may be in the neighbourhood of 5 crores. Every pound of cloth today is making a profit of 3 annas per lb. and every lb. of yarn yields a profit of about 9 annas. Last year the yarn mills did badly and the yarn mills which showed a loss of about 2 lakhs in the year's working, are making a profit of 15 lakhs per month out of yarn. Last, including expenditure are higher than cost. If you paid before the war 400 for your machinery, you are paying today something like 175. That is not all. The machine value is gone thirty per cent., and any cotton that you give today for machinery is not likely to be required before the middle or end of 1932. The old mills themselves are in an extremely strong position. Birla Cotton in the late August, 1929, was Rs. 100 per yard. On the 1st August this year it was 142. Today it is 175, and the Indian cotton weaver is known to have made up his mind to buy the loom in 1932, and a high Rs. change is bound to depress cotton with a growing demand

for cloth and yarn. I am so satisfied in the immediate future. In fact, the profits of the current year will exceed the profits of the two best years before the war.

If there is 1 lb. of cloth seven yards in length and if our average weaver is 15 yards per hand per year, and if we are producing only 1.02 yards per hand, we have to produce 12.50 yards more per hand in order to be self-sufficient so far as our largest industry went in food is concerned. Besides, therefore, as at bottom largely a question of production pure and simple. The statistics now are therefore good only in so far they stimulate a desire to produce and induce us to be satisfied with the quality that India is able to produce at the present moment.

The figures we have quoted show further that our mills cannot supply our wants in the immediate future. In any case they do not require any stimulus. With the present Indian the self-reliance of our young people, they will not be slow to develop their mills if they could only do so. But they cannot, if only because there is no machinery immediately available.

If therefore we want to increase manufacture of cloth, it means that we must multiply spinning wheels and hand looms. There is therefore scope for it. It is easy and it is cheap. Everyone who spins some one tale of yarn or weaves that quantity per day advances the cause of swadeshi to that extent. There are many more reasons the figure books. The patient reader can work them out to himself.

**The Right to Revolt**—A report of the Bombay High Court Judgment on the *Deppagoda* (supra) case, the following note in the 'Herald of Hindustan' of February, 1930 will be of interest.—

"The right to revolt lies at the very foundation of our liberties. Without it every citizen would be at the mercy of the despotism of the State. Endeavour the only limitation which in England has existed against the unlimited dominion of the governing power, whether royal, ecclesiastical, aristocratic or democratic, has been the fact that, when authority is exercised beyond a certain point, the citizens will resist the exercise of that authority by whatever method seems to them the most efficacious."

The writer proceeds to cite some English instances in support of his statement.



## INDIANS IN FIJI

(By Mr. Anandaraman.)

## ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

On 15th July 1915 some Indian men Fiji sent a mission to the Secretary of State for India, in which they said, "Many of us pay school fees in the form of Fera and get children sent and allowed to attend the public school and we separate provisions made for teaching our children and they receive no education in English or any public school. Out of a total revenue of £ 12,00,000 up to year 1914 the sum of only £ 2122 was devoted to education and most of this was for Indian education. Thus not only we have been gradually debilitated but as the result we have been reduced to a backward condition. For this, the blame lies in 1879 when a commission was appointed to enquire into the question of education. The Commission Agent then laid down some strong suggestions, the necessity of providing elementary education for Indians either wholly or partly at Government expense. The commission found that Indians were in a weak and abject condition. They were advised that, any other nation of the community well recommended that the Government should establish public schools, appoint teachers and grant bursaries to provide Indian or persons establishing schools. These recommendations have not received any effect upto 1916, and even more than 3000 Indian children are sent away from Fiji for education. The Government has been making no attempt for spreading education amongst Fiji Indians."

Even Russia, Brazil and China declined to accept. Spending money for the Indian community has derived very little benefit from the educational attempts made by Fiji.

Indians have been in the Fiji Islands for the last 41 years. Out of those 41 years the 35 centuries had been we looking for the education of their children. What is accomplished for a national Government which has lived upon the labour of Indian labourers and who have not made any attempt to provide a fresh supply of the labour supply?

What has been the result of this negligence part of Fiji Government? The figures will tell us. During the European half century Fiji and Samoa, the percentage of literate people were 42.42 and 40.00 respectively but the percentage of literate Indians is only 2.4.

While other Colonies have been careful about the education of their native Indians, Fiji has been very careless. Trinidad and British Guiana spend 2 percent of their total revenue on education, Jamaica spends 2½ percent, Barbados 3 percent, but Fiji spends only 1.2 percent and that too for Europeans. Mr. Tait and Mr. Fergusson, who had been in Fiji from 1880 to 1912 advised us that the question of education of Fiji Indians has been before the Fiji Government for the last 36 years, but no amount of the financial resources of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company and the planters the Fiji Government has not been able to do anything for the

the education of Indian children. Mr. J. W. Barton observed in his book "The Fiji of to day" "No effort is made either by the Government or by the employers to provide the natives with any elementary education. A company of natives has not a school. So long as the labour is maintained in sufficient health to do its work no more is required. The more they are used to the sun and heat. The children are allowed to run wild. No educational privileges are given. As soon as they reach the age of twelve, they too must go to the fields."

The argument of the planters that if education were given the natives would be spoiled and they will hold them down, had been responsible for the neglect of Fiji Government for 35 years i. e. from 1875 to 1910.

## THE FIVE DELEGATIONS.

The planters, the company and the planters of Fiji have made with the labour of indentured slaves as a maximum that they cannot give up the hope of getting their Indian labourers. While we have been waiting like here quite motionless about our Fiji brother the planters and the companies of Fiji have been trying their utmost to get their usual supply of 8000 labourers from India.

In June 1915 a committee was appointed by the Governor of Fiji to make recommendations regarding the system which may be adopted in substitution of the indenture system. The committee consisted of the following members—

The Colonial Secretary, the Resident General, the Chief Medical Officer, the Agent General of Immigration, five members of the legislative council, President of the Planter's Association and three representatives of the Fata and Soldier Planters.

The report of the committee is before us and I reproduce its first resolution here.

"That having in view the distance of Fiji from India, the cost of transport &c. the introduction of labourers and above all the fact that owing to the nature of the work on agricultural plantations the operational industries of the colony controlled by the Government of a large amount of capital are wholly dependent on native-born labour, and in view that in the terms of the documents from the United Kingdom of India for India to the United Kingdom of India for the Colonies, dated the 15th of February 1915, the inevitable change in the conditions of recruitment and engagement should be brought about such as to be dependent on possible of the economic resources of the Colony, and to enable the Colony, which welcomes the immigration of labourers from India, to carry on the the trade, not only of the immediately interests affected, but of the Empire as a whole the conditions which have depended upon imported labour His Majesty's Government be requested to secure liberal treatment to the Colony."

So we see they are anxious to secure liberal treatment to the Colony of Fiji—for liberal treatment to the colony where the native rate, among indentured Indians has been twenty shillings as high as that of U. E. and Indians and the native rate is more than

80 tons as high as that of the two previous years, which the Indians were sent to Fij. Look at the picture of the Colonial Secretary, Receiver General, Chief Medical Officer, Agent General of Immigration, five honorable members of the council and representatives of the planters begging for 'liberal treatment' to the colony of Fij, and look at the picture presented by the following facts and figures—

In the year 1914 out of 15693 indentured Indian males in Fij, 11 committed suicide. I attempted to commit suicide. 15 were convicted of committing murder, 1 were murdered. 11 were convicted of the violent crime of wounding. 12 were wounded, 1 was convicted of man slaughter and 1 was killed by man-slaughter. The number of crimes actually charged is more for committing these crimes, together with those who suffered under them, amounted to nearly one hundred persons.

I wonder if the Fij Europeans having such a record are not ashamed when they say for 'liberal treatment' and more laborers from India. Do they know that once sent to India for the Fij Indians except these prisoners, murderers, Thieves and Quacks and their spokesman Mr Andrews that 'writing' pseudo missionary, this 'liberal of Fij' whose reports in their opinion, are 'highly admired,' 'misleading,' 'worthless' grossly exaggerated 'whited' 'unsaid for and 'mainly untrue' The unlikeliest view of this condition is worth consideration. The missionary says—

"The condition indicated in the important proposal that immigrants should, under the suggested new system, be introduced into the colony by the Government under an agreement of industrial service. Your committee consider that the words 'commitment' with the out of contract term, would necessarily imply a term of not less than 15 months. We share, however, no emphasis our opinion that it is essential in view of the heavy cost to be borne by the planters, estimate that the period should not be less than three and a half years or 42 calendar months."

Certainly the late scheme of the old indenture system. An agreement of industrial service for 15 years, is nothing but Indenture system was large. This committee recommended that if any laborer is found to work at any time of his industrial service he should be committed to a depot, not being a good there to be detained at the expense of Immigration Fund until he may be repatriated to India at the expense of the Immigration Fund. I wonder if it will make any difference to the unfortunate laborer whether he is kept in the good or whether he is detained at a depot at the expense of the Immigration Fund. Our Viceroy said in his last speech,

"I have another interesting announcement to make. An excellent woman from Fij landed. I understood, by the Bishop of Polynesia, is expected to visit India during the coming mid-winter in order to investigate the conditions in Fiji, and if possible to promote Indian public opinion to agree to the acceptance of free emigration to Fij under whatever conditions."

The speaker's mind is very interesting indeed, and

I understand that the Bishop the Bishop of Polynesia is bringing a cinematograph with the delegation. In a meeting of the Fij Legislative Council when a resolution for providing Indian Immigration was passed, Mr. Chapman, a leading planter, said,

"We should welcome Fij for more than we have done in the past. Among persons—persons are excellent as that of living Indians in India are what conditions there are in Fij. I am sure that we should have a representation in the matter which is from reports that are going about."

The Secretary of the Colony said that the question of sending a man to India instead of bringing him to Fij is a matter for personal comparison. The Bishop has informed us that the man is not kept and therefore, we are waiting and waiting very much for the day when we shall have the chance to have the cinematograph from Fij. The idea of advertising Fij to get laborers with the help of cinematograph is very wrong. It is quite original indeed. Our Viceroy says, I think that we ought to have carefully to make they have got to say.

Now I can picture the Bishop the Bishop of Polynesia is bringing a picture of the Harrow Association of Colonies or Imperial Immigration Association of London on the advantages the recruiting firms of Indians will get if they could send 5000 of their countrymen to Fij annually and then the picture will follow. The Vancouver Times Chicago, by a well at New at Fij. The word at Fij. This beautiful India. 4.1. (open Beauty) The indentured laborer who has become a member of the Fij Legislative Council and so on and so on. But I understand that on question, these indentured pictures had in spite of the Fijians, a warning to listen to the deputation carefully, some members of the deputation may get impatient and may ask his Lordship some of the following questions.

Is it not a high high suicide rate in Fij is 80 times that of U. P. and Madras?

Is it not a fact that the suicide rate in Fij is 80 times as high as of the two provinces from which laborers are sent to Fij?

Is it not a fact that from 1904—1917 76 Indians were proved to have been murdered and about 115 were drowned?

What about the statement contained in the Fij Council paper on 24 that one indentured woman has to marry three times as well as was men outside?

Is it not a fact that 74 Indians have been hanged at Suva during the last 15 years?

Is it not a fact that Indian boys and girls in Fij are in constant danger of being forced married?

Is it not a fact that recently an Indian lad of 18 years, married an European girl of 5 years of age and seduced her with various diseases?

What about the young Indian girls of 12 bearing children that are so destructive, as usually to appear human offspring at all?

What about the abominable trafficking in young girls for marriage?

What about the thousands of Indians who have

been waiting for four years Greening and anxiously looking forward for the day when they can embark to their motherland?

What about the Pij Dasker according to which a husband is told that he must allow his wife to be used for immoral purposes?

Will you please tell us something of the kind of treatment met to a married wife in Pij?

And what about the statement of the Pij official who said that the Pij Government did not care for the moral welfare of Indian labourers, it cared only for their labour as the field?

And then I can picture the pathetic figure of the Indian child standing here before me—this innocent young innocent of smiling questions.

Shoppers Pij has been under the firm rule with one whose women of some European country were working as labourers—serving them as isolated slaves and domestic workers, and upon the Bishop of Rotterdam (Germany) were told that European was away in the next cold weather, so passports could be sent, then summer when a more receptive the deportation shall be given.

The Pij Treaty made in a long article. You must a product of the act of Pij. It is extensively collected in India. So the Pij Department—coming to a country where was it extensively collected to get labourers. Do the Pij Europeans want to collect the wage as well as the superannuation Pij with the help of Indian labourers?

#### REPRESENTATION OF LABOURERS.

The Treaty says: The Secretary of State has been pressing the shipping company to provide vessels for those who wish to return to India. And when knows how long this pressing will go on? There are thousands of Indians in Pij whose claims for free return passage have not been met for the last 3 years.

Mr. Andrews says: "The Pij Government and the shipping companies have taken advantage of the labour of the Indians during the war to make enormous profits out of sugar, but they have themselves appropriated that part of the labourer's savings which was to pay for their return passage. The Indian labourer was that great sugar machine, ply their hands as usual, but not one of those machines was to spend to repatriate the labourer who had helped to gain the sugar. The funds go on accumulating in the Pij Government Treasury, while the distress is growing among the labourers. Thus the Government engagement with Indian labourers has been directly and palpably broken, and the profits returned to the hands of Pij administrators."

Has our Treaty said a single word to deplore this flagrant breach of the contract? No, it hasn't!

#### "WIFE OF A LABOURER" TROUBLE.

The Treaty has said—It is very possible that a large number may wish to make Pij their home as free men, for the climate is good, and some Indians who began as unskilled labourers are now "men of

substance" in Pij." This is an advertisement for Pij.

We do not know how many Pij Indians have become millionaires, but we do know that most of those who return from the colonies and who are working in Pij to return cannot come under the category of men of substance. The following figures, taken from the Annual Reported Emigration, will support my statement.

| Year | No. of emigrants who returned | No. of those who brought on savings. |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1934 | 8534                          | 1174 (or 13.8 per cent)              |
| 1935 | 2903                          | 2318 (or 71.3 per cent)              |
| 1937 | 1380                          | 5943 (or 82 per cent)                |
| 1938 | 1575                          | 1482 (or 70.3 per cent)              |

The case of those people, who are working in Pij on an unimproved condition and who will return to India, simply headed as all the money possible. The advertisement of Pij scheme and the false prospects of becoming men of substance will not improve their condition. It is high time that the Treaty wrote a few words to the Pij Government about its criminal negligence and about sparing a large sum to carry these unfortunate labourers to their motherland.

#### THE CASE OF IMMIGRANTS RETURN.

The Treaty has in his speech, "The Colonial Office in London was overruled and decided that the immigration demanded by the Government of India must be metted out on the conditions specified." In Sir George Trevelyan's speech of the 11th Sep. 1938 we read "The Secretary of State for the colonies agreed that either points (1) to (4) of Mr. Andrews' memorandum must be carried out on the labourers released from indentures."

Second, third, fourth and fifth recommendations of Mr. Andrews' memorandum are given below.

(1) That at the mill centres the conditions have to be reconstructed to an hygienic privacy and superannuation to married labourers.

(2) That at the mill centres the hospital be placed under the supervision of a medical officer.

(3) That no Indian apprentices be going overseas, and overseas be placed in charge of the Highness of India.

(4) That no Indian apprentices be going overseas, and overseas be placed in charge of an Indian, hospital where there is no master.

First of all we should like to know why the allowance was given to the release of Pij that release it should carry out the improvements in conditions named by the indentured. What has been the result of this indulgence and leniency towards the Pij planters? Let us see. The Treaty confessed in his speech.

"How far these improvements have been carried out up to date we have no very clear information. We know, however, they have been effected at least in part, and separate quarters for employees have voluntarily at many cases provided for married couples."

Mr. Andrews' memorandum was sent direct to the Pij Governor by the Treaty on 13th April 1938.

During the 17 months that have elapsed since that date, the Viceroy has not been able to get any clear information. Even if this information was given to the Ministers, why has not the Government of India been making out daylight to see that these improvements are carried out? Now at the eleventh hour the Viceroy informs us after 17 months that he hasn't got very clear information about it.

The Viceroy furnishes us with a vague information about the second point of Mr. Andrews. What about the 3rd, 4th, 5th points of Mr. Andrews? According to the Secretary of State for the colonies there ought to have been a meeting out by the colony of Fiji. The Viceroy is silent about them. Evidently he hasn't got any clear information. Can anything be said on favour of this ridiculous case of the Government of India? Let 'Young India' which has given an unqualified approval to the Viceroy's speech, certainly not to his 'unacceptable and highly satisfactory' answers my question.

#### OUR DUTY

Our duty is quite clear. The question is of the honour and nobleness of our Indian women and our motherland. The Viceroy wrote to the Fiji Government about early manumission of indentured on 18th April 1919 and the Fiji Government has decided to close indentures on 1st August 1920. This means that for 2 years 3 months and 14 days for the Viceroy's despatch to produce no desired effect, even when the despatch is not dated. We must insist that all indentures must be cancelled on or before 31st December 1919. We have only less than three months at our disposal. The lengthy process of writing despatches from Delhi to White Hall, White Hall to Downing Street and from Downing Street to Suva (Fiji) will not do anything. We must insist that all the correspondence regarding the manumission of indentured should be published. The previous speeches of the Viceroy and also his latest speech show that he has not reduced the importance of the question. His statement that the Fiji Government and the Fiji people are ready anxious to do what is right, is not borne out by facts. We are naturally afraid that the Indian Government's anxiety for 'white interests may not protect the indentured slavery upto 1921. And what about the 4000 indentured slaves in Trinidad, British Guiana, Jamaica and Surinam? Do we not owe a duty towards them? It is very undesirable that the Viceroy should inform us on December 31st 1919 that he has not got very clear information about these unfortunate people. We have informed that indentured slavery for the last 40 years is a stain on 1834 to 1919, and we are not going to tolerate it anymore. In the words of Florence Kelley, we must agitate, agitate, and still further agitate till the indentured slavery is wiped out once for all, not only from Fiji but also from British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Surinam.

#### THE CASE OF A JAMIAH SINGH ALLOA, TRINIDAD

1. My father S. Jemur Singh began work in Karachi on some business in the first week of April and returned from there in the 18th. On his arrival at Wundwari he found that there was some mail he had shown in a village in Jambet State, which could be purchased during a sale of his lands. He could not go immediately to see the land, although he wished very much to do, on account of the trouble he had that took place that year on 15th July and 17th April (5 days) within town.

2. In the evening of the 18th April a meeting was called in the mosque near the Railway Station by some people of this town to confer with Mullaana Saadulla's religious movement. My father attended the meeting on the request of some people and after three hours' meeting or two but when he spoke was perfectly hushed.

3. On the night between the 18th and 19th April my father was seized at 2 A. M. by a party of the Tehsil who brought an order from the Tehsildar that all houses of men should present themselves before him with their arms to the Tehsil, morning. In compliance with the order my father went to the Tehsil in the morning of the 19th April at about 4 A. M. The Tehsildar came to the Tehsil later on, and made me an order of the Great Magistrate which was to the effect that they should prevent the people from doing any mischief and, if word be, they should visit their arms. My father had to stay in the Tehsil till 5 A. M. when the Tehsildar asked my father and two or three respectable men to go to the Dakh Bungalow which is just opposite to the Railway station and to divide and to disperse the people from coming any more out of Jambet State. My father did go to the Dakh Bungalow and dispersed the mob. Thereafter my father returned home and did not move from his house the whole day. He left the town in the night according to the previous arrangement to see the land mentioned above.

4. In the afternoon of the 18th April Lt. Col. A. J. O'Brien, Dist. Magistrate, accompanied by the Town Dapha Talukdar and members of the society came into the town and were a number of respectable men. When the Dist. Magistrate and others came in front of my shop I brought out my father who also wanted to be received by them. I told the City Sub Magistrate of Baleshwar Mr. Shukla that my father has not done and had gone to attend to some urgent business in a village in Jambet State but he would not interfere with anything and he would not move from his house when he had done so in my children and families staying there. I had invited him (my father) somewhere in the house.

5. Lt. Col. A. J. O'Brien, Dist. Magistrate visited our town again in the 21st April and ordered my father's property to be confiscated towards the evening of that day without giving any reasons or previous notice. On the 22nd the City Sub Magistrate came and charged 200 Rs. to Ahmed and 200 Rs. to Singh M. and 200 Rs. to Gopalram. That day by members of my father to take out the contents of my house situated in the Chhaprawalla house. There were in the house at the time five females (my mother, my wife, my sister and a female servant) and my infant children. They were immediately hurried out by our enemies. The ladies were at the time in dress generally worn by women living within the four walls of their houses. The old



may find Ex. 12 for the statement of the railway from quarried at Waranahat.

(1) I have received from the Chief Secretary's office a copy of report on my father's case and have found several inaccuracies and discrepancies and numerous omissions. Some of them are as follows:—

(a) Ex. 1100 (Tanna Diamond) were subscribed to by War Loan by my father whereas the judgment says Ex. 100—only.

(b) Statements of prosecution and defence witnesses are not on the record.

(c) The judgment does not give the reasons for the grant of a Band and a stick to my father.

(d) The Magistrate has not stated in the judgment how the "speech" alleged to be made by my father in the temple was hostile to Government.

(e) The judgment does not say how the defence witnesses like the European Law Officer and other respectable witnesses could be offered by the 'counsel' of my father.

(f) There was no Martial on the 11th April on a notice of that. It was on the 17th April 1913. The Magistrate is therefore wrong in stating my father made the speech in support of my father's case (see copy of record).

(g) My father's sentence has been reduced by the People's Government to one of 6 months, but the fine has not been remitted. My father, too, I have understood, has not been sent to the two High Court Judges who have been appointed to recently constituted by the Home Member to the Council, to revise the Summary case but it appears that the work of revision has not been put in hand yet.

WARRANT:

FORFEITURE WITH BAIL.

Copy of the record of the case, Chandra Wa. Jangam Singh, tried by Col. A. J. O'Brien, C. B. R., C. I. E. at Waranahat.

Date of Offence.....14th April 1913

Date of Trial.....25th June 1913

Name and description of Jangam Singh Ch. Jangam Singh was not including caste, Area of Waranahat, name of father and village.

Nature of offence.....Sections 147 I. P. C., Sections 3 & 15 Martial Law Ordinance, Section 35 Defence of India Act.

Witnesses and brief description of circumstances alleged against accused  
One case against Prison Doc.

Accused is shown to have made a speech in the temple, arousing Martial. Although called to the Tribunal as a respectable man, with an arms licence, he went off with the mob which were sent to the Sikh Bungalow and around temple. He is said to have stopped here from breaking up the meeting. The mob appeared to be under

his orders. He stimulated the Martial on his way to the Tribunal.

Brief statement of witnesses for defence and statement of accused.

Accused pleads not guilty. Admits that he spoke in the temple. Says he was forced into the temple and made to speak but spoke in defence of Government. Went to Tribunal with arms. Refused leave but went to the Sikh Bungalow to suppress the mob.

He produces witnesses to prove that he was more or less forced into the temple but this appears to have been friendly pressure which he did not resist, and that he spoke in favour of the British Gov. which was not intended.

He obtained Law Officer and even in Railway staff try to get a favourable view on his presence in the Sikh Bungalow, but Jangam Singh is a very mob man.

He submitted Ex. 100 to the War Loan and received a Band and stick and gave small money to other funds. He suggests that the case against him was made by A. D. Akond, Municipal Commissioner.

VERDICT.

It is apparent that he spoke in the temple hostile to Government and that he was with the mob which stirred the temple. If he prevented here from breaking down, there may have been some other means but he certainly was up the mob and his previous conduct shows that he was not there for good.

I find accused guilty under Sections 147 I. P. C., and Sections 3 & 15 of Martial Law Ordinance and Section 35 Defence of India Act.

PLEADING.

His plea is less than that of Pritam Das etc, but their sentence is less than three months. However I determine to be a small sentence. I sentence Jangam Singh to eighteen months rigorous imprisonment for one month in addition.

True copy. Attested. Col. A. J. O'Brien,  
Sd. Singh Jangam Singh, C. B. R., C. I. E. District Magistrate  
Sd. A. J. O'Brien  
Sd. A. J. O'Brien  
Sd. A. J. O'Brien

## BUSINESS NOTICE

All communications regarding subscription, refund etc, should be addressed to the Manager, "Young India", Clapham Road, Alameda and all manuscripts and special matter to be inserted in the paper, as well as all letters to the Editor, should be addressed to Subscriptions, Editor.

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| Italy for the Future           | 7        | 6     |
| South African Empire           | 8        | 5     |
| Contributions of 1890          | 9        | 4     |
| Indian in South Africa         | 10       | 5     |
| Questions of Interest in 1890  | 11       | 7     |

## Notes

**Mr. Smith's Punjab Letter**—In a letter which he has sent to the "New York Times" from the Punjab, Mr. Smith gives an idea of the kind of which the ladies working there are promoting. He says—"We are thinking of making three requests to the Committee, (1) That the ladies should be released from the custody of the committee, (2) That one of the two Revenue Judges should be from within the Punjab and (3) That the Revenue Judges should have power to remove and call further such as where they think necessary. It is feared that our requests will not be allowed to appear before the committee, but it is hoped that they will be. If these things are not considered I am afraid we could not lead any serious ladies the committee. If it is decided to lead women, it will be led very probably by Mr. G. B. Darnall and Mr. M. M. M. Mr. Darnall, a barrister from England who is expected to arrive in about a fortnight to help Messrs. Darnall and M. M. M."

People's Movement and People's Councils are by nature essential and to have rendered unique services to the People. They brought order and strength to the inner-structure of the People. People's Councils have saved tens of thousands of lives. Every Revolutionary belongs to the People and to the revolutionary process of the hour, to the

kind of the work. Some have known leaders of the People are also doing their share of the work. It is impossible to estimate Mr. Andrews' services. He has been so silently and unobtrusively looking out that no one knows how much and what he is doing. He has been a valuable Mr. Gibley in the People. Of him it may be truly said that he left hand knows not what the right is doing. His work has been entirely told, and he has been able to reach places and people in the People, whom other workers have not reached. Towards the conference, he says he has already seen the Deputy Government and the Elder Cleaver and that he expected soon long to visit the important leaders of the People.

**Foreigners in their own Country.**—There are certain observations in the *Justice for Akbar* Bulletin's correspondence address, which require to be challenged and in support of these statements but on account of the agreement with which they have been made and seeing as they do seem to have a more than *Justice for Akbar* Bulletin, speaking on the necessity of a common language for the whole of India to use. (It is often asserted that English can never become a proper medium of the highest expression for an Indian. This is however contrary to patent facts. For instance, could highly-advanced philosophical and extremely beautiful poetic thought and emotion be more effectively expressed than they have been by Rabindranath Tagore in the English language, though some of his writings are called translations? We venture to answer *Justice for Akbar* Bulletin's question in the affirmative, though he expresses a negative reply and pronounced as "Patent fact." Well, the patent fact is that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore gave the best production of his creative genius, in his poet-sophist or poet, first in his own mother-tongue, and then gave only a small fraction of them in English—exquisite English we decide, but in many more words the exquisite imagery and undeniably more of the original. But this question is beside the point. English may be capable of the highest expression. The question is, could we use it as a medium of exchange of our thoughts with the masses? *Justice for Akbar* Bulletin's reply by this is answered. "Thousands of

educated Indians all over India use English as the common channel of communication." It is amazing, in itself, that this opinion should come from Mr. Abner Kahn who is known to know the "foreign influence" of India. Does he ignore the "foreign influence" in comparison with the "thousands of educated Indians" he knows of? But here comes the most amazing of his statements on this subject. He says "And is it not also a fact that English, especially in the North, is rapidly gaining ground among natives at least of the following classes: such as skilled workmen and domestic servants with all savings to themselves and their employers? In educated families nice, elegant children are in fact widespread. As regards the following classes in South India, the present system leaves thousands of Indian youths are members of the Western Labour Union, and many thousands of Europeans. The greatest labour centres in Madras, now, is a absolutely rampant of English, and in whom English as a channel of communication would be a positive affliction. As regards the talented children educated by Mr. Abner Kahn, we would like to know if they must exclude the few scores of Indians of the type of Mr. Abner Kahn's. We are loath to have to see the expression, but we cannot help saying that Mr. Abner Kahn is, we are afraid, one of the very few foreigners in their own country.

**Can we honestly refuse?**—Mr. M. K. Gandhi has addressed the following letter to the Press—

"Several friends have enquired what should be the position regarding the forthcoming jubilee celebration on the Diamond day. I have that resolution was passed at some meetings to the effect that the Mahomedans would not participate in the celebration of the Khilafat question was not satisfactorily settled in that due to suppose an Indian celebration. So long as the great question remains unsettled and the Mahomedans continued in danger of being harassed and oppressed by the Mahomedans, it is impossible to give it a hearty possible for Hindus, Parsis, Christian Jews and others for whom India is the land of their adoption or birth, to take part in the forthcoming rejoicings. I venture to think that the Executive the Viceroy too, if he will, tell the Secretary of State that Indians can not participate in the celebrations so long as the Khilafat question remains unsettled and I do hope that the Secretary of State will recognize the necessity of ensuring and producing an favourable settlement of the question before asking us to take part in the present celebrations.

## Young India

Founded at Birmingham, 25th. June 1918.

1918.

The columns have been occupied with Mr. Bismarck's character as is the position of our country, says to the. It thoroughly describes the Viceroy's proceedings as if you have a case against a person on appeal of his conviction. As we have seen, so even to doubt the maturity of Lord Dufferin's statements, we have assumed that we shall see the end of the misadventure on the by the end of this year, having thus dashed our hopes as though it be in great probability to the Government system thoroughly, describing the statements made by the Viceroy. The error suggested by him appears an added significance from the extracts published also where from the two years, containing the debate in the two legislative Council. The two Councils have passed a resolution of, along to suspension of the independence in the 1st of August 1918. That means that the independence is to be cancelled eight months after the date suggested in the Viceroy, and the public and that the great responsibility is to continue on the the suspension of the law, for one month more if the Viceroy goes on, or the public remains satisfied.

The wrong given by the delay reflects upon neither on the Government of the nor on the matter. Apparently the maturity into maturity in order that the two Government might send £1,000,000. Whereas it would cost £1,000,000 to end the independence on the 1st January in the shape of payment to the public. It is all good, only a 1918 of the independence is cancelled on 1st August 1918.

But in reality, the reason is not more matter. Reading the debate between the two parts that the change is not in fact being that approval the two parties expect the Government of India to change things by having them have India subject on some other terms. It is being to know Secretary of State on this and what one of the phrases to suggest to the public that could we come out of it. It is a little bit better, for they were willing to be left one they would not object to further suggestions. Mr. Bismarck and that means they agreed to voluntarily cancel the independence was so clear? It therefore clearly means that the two Government expect to bargain with the Government of India. *Paras Bismarck is done for ever.*

Let us hope that the Government of India will not be duped by any schemes involving addressed to them from the. The public cannot allow any bargaining. Cancellation of the independence is our right. The law does not allow our women to be used as prostitutes. The law does not contemplate the children of indentured parents being neglected. We have a strong law for immediately and person-

plenty demanding immediate attention. We have waited too long. If the sugar industry of Fiji can only exist on labour imported from India, on money by what some would call a racist bank, then no such industry is likely to help the industry. The wrong assumptions of the Imperial used the same cry regarding Chinese labour. But that great industry saved the cloth. When the late Sir Henry Charles Richmond previously was the general manager of the Chinese labour cry and when the universality of the Chinese industries was exposed, as most was considered integral to commerce, and the system was not to separate every Chinese industrial labour. Immunity can play no part in the system. And the Fiji planters cannot defend the industries because the system has been so long established.

India's honor is at stake not only because of the act of the system but also because untouchable attacks have been made upon the great and good Englishman Mr. C. P. Andrews who has brought to light the hideousness of the system under which our dark countrymen have suffered for years. The Government of P. N. have proposed to send two gentlemen to enquire as with the true situation. The public can have but one answer to return to them if they dare assist Mr. Andrews. The danger lies in the Government of India taking a wrong one to them. We therefore trust that the women of India and the Imperial Citizenship Association will co-operate. Under themselves and ask the Government of India to demand justice before of the existing conditions before the first of December next and were there against accepting any system of immigration which would do this.

The above was written before the exchange was published in the paper that the Government of India were meeting on the termination of the indentures at the end of the year. It is a matter for indignation that reports of the unscrupulous agitation against Mr Andrews' indentures have been found to be indefensible for the moral welfare of the indentured Indians. But the Government of India have done well to inquire about the price to be paid for cancelling all indentures. We do not understand, on any of the process, to hold Mr Andrews' indentures. We know the price. The planters have paid it to the natives. And if they want the full £ 20,000 they should have the second or long as the indentures are cancelled by the end of the year. We congratulate Sir George Barnes who has represented the Government of India upon what promises to be a happy ending of the Fy trouble.

We need sincerely congratulate Mr. Andrews. He has so thoroughly absorbed himself with our subject, that for him regulations have run down as solid as pyramids. We know that he having seen the necessity of our emergency on Feb. 10 to day, the happy man to find that the law will make them, here on the new week day.

**PAGE**      **DATE**

Mr. Aarseth's cable from Johannesburg published in the Daily Freeman days ago showed the general attitude of the situation in South Africa. He complained that the proposed Commission was likely only to examine the trading question and that the Boers, who were only too ready to endorse and would not sit on the Commission. On behalf of the British Indian Association Mr. Aarseth then suggested that the volunteers should involve the question of the whole nation and that if possible Mr. Gouda should be a member of the Commission.

Then upon Mr. Lowell's table stood the From  
 Communications containing a statement of the Secretary  
 of State. It seems as a steel evidence. We  
 shall not discuss what led to the constant reference  
 to Montague's complaint of Section 11 to say that  
 not only Indians—who may be expected all times to  
 make the most import of English words—but English  
 men also understood Mr. Montague to have said  
 that a request had been made that Government should  
 from India—one non-official and official—should  
 as members of the Committee. However that may  
 be the Communications open our eyes to the facts that  
 the appointment of the Commission will be left of the  
 question to be examined by it, is clarified for some  
 time at least. It is also possible that the postpone-  
 ment of the Commission and Mr. Montague's belated  
 explanation set nothing less than a work connection  
 to the interest of the race prejudice and trade policy  
 which are spreading over South Africa today. We  
 have and once before and we may repeat that if the  
 question is to be decided by the "action of prejudice"  
 there is no need of a commission. It is too late a run  
 now to print for the charges of the royal veto. Mr. H.  
 H. Montague's portion of whose thoughtful letter to  
 the "Times of India" was reproduced elsewhere, has  
 given an elaborate reply to Mr. Montague's contribu-  
 tion against race. The commission is no doubt a  
 noble measure as compared with the veto, but it is  
 a very obvious alternative as long as there is no  
 strong member to represent the Indian race. An  
 appointment of the appointment of Indian representatives  
 on the commission would appear to be undesirable  
 looking to the circumstances in South Africa. We  
 also think that it is not easy at this stage to have the  
 whole matter examined, as Mr. Lowell has suggested.  
 The whole question involves the Parliamentary  
 franchise and the anti-Apartheid laws of the Orange  
 State. We must present to Government an unbi-  
 assonal statement of our demands, and that should take  
 the form of a request to Government either to press  
 for the removal of the royal veto, or to the alternative  
 to appoint along with Mr. Montague Indians  
 an Indian representative of Indian independence  
 and fully conversant with the conditions of the  
 case as to be advise the Dutch Government that  
 the commission of inquiry and the property rights  
 question, with a view to education in the training  
 institutions, must be the last that the Commission  
 should address itself to.

As regards the Indian representatives, Mr. Gandhi whose name is suggested in many quarters can hardly be expected to be appointed. We think Mr. Shastree should be acceptable both to the Indian public and the Government. Mr. Shastree is a host in himself. He is to be fully trusted to represent Indian interests. And the Europeans can have nothing to say against the choice. He will say what he feels is right. Our countrymen in South Africa, too, will have every reason to congratulate themselves if the Hon. Mr. Shastree is sent along with Sir B. Robertson. We venture to think that the responsible ministers that we have suggested above, with the deputation of the Hon. Mr. Shastree along with Sir Benjamin Robertson is the least that the Government should be prepared to concede.

### —RING OUT THE OLD, RING IN THE NEW—

We give below a translation of a leading article in the "New Dawn", dated 25th October, 1918.

It is difficult to strike the last year's balance. The War has ended but with uncertainties. The hopes it nourished have remained unfulfilled. The Peace which was expected to be a permanent one, has turned out to be one to cause. The War which was great, or then the Bolshevik war has been proved to be but a prelude to a still greater war. Reopened the contest all over France, America and England after the war—enough to bewilder one. All that has followed seems to be a huge swamp. Here in India we are faced with despair everywhere. It was confidently hoped that at the close of the war India would get something substantial; but the huge turned out to be false. For aught we know the reforms may yet come. Even if they do, they will be worthless. The Congress-League Scheme, then the Delhi Congress scheme and subsequent schemes are now mere nothing. We have to wait and see. The Punjab has been a scene of most revolting episodes, countless lives have been lost. There is a reign of terror. The gulf between the rulers and the ruled has been widened. In these matters it is impossible to strike a correct balance. What is the new tone on the credit side? Or is there something to be debited, and if so what? Or is it that there is no credit side at all and we have simply to wipe up the debit figures?

Was there any other issue, in such a dark, dark, cloud of despair? The sun of Satyagraha dawned all over India on the 15th of April. The clouds were withered and the rays could be directly seen. But the sun underwent an eclipse in the Punjab and Ahmednagar and its shadows are still haunting us. And yet Satyagraha is again now dawning on some minds, though slowly. There was a lull in many parts of India on the 15th of October and perfect peace and quiet. The Fudhul passed that day in fasting and prayer. The Hindus participated in the Muslim mourning, strengthened the latter's hopes and the bonds of union with them. It may now be very difficult to break the bonds

If some one were to ask, "What was the greatest event of the last year?", we would unhesitatingly say, "It was the acceptance of Satyagraha,—how-ever slightly—and unanimously or unanimously, both by the rulers and the ruled. And in proof of the statement we would cite October the 15th."

The hope of India lies in Satyagraha. And what is Satyagraha? It has often been described. But just as the sun cannot be fully described even by the myriad-tongued Shakespeare, so also the sun of Satyagraha cannot be adequately described. And though we always see the sun but have really very little of it, even so we desire more to see the sun of Satyagraha but we have precious little about it.

The spheres of Satyagraha are Spiritual, Social, Economic and Political Reform. And as so far as these are concerned Satyagraha is for only, and no further in these particulars except. The way of Satyagraha is different from the beaten track and it is not always easy to discover it. Few have ventured along that path and the footprints on it are few and far between and infrequent, and hence the people dread it. And still we clearly find people taking that course, but it is not so slowly.

He is whom Satyagraha means nothing more than God. Gandhi has been saying unhesitatingly Satyagraha. So he is the right interpretation of Satyagraha does include within its meaning God (Gandhiism). But only to who has mastered the art of abstinence to live knows the art of disobedience to live. Only he who thoroughly knows how to restrain may disobey. The path lies long.

The path of Truth is the path of the brave,  
It is beyond the power of the coward.

Ends in Satyagraha. It is beyond the power of cowardly spirits to observe or to propagate. Gandhi. It is impossible for a coward to enter Hindu-Muslim Unity. It takes anyone but a cowardly Muslim to receive a word from a Hindu's dagger and vice versa and to preserve his mental balance. If he could master this work of balance, Swaraj would be automatically obtained. There is now to be led on the path of Satyagraha and both Swaraj and Hindu-Muslim Unity being in this manner religious India would incidentally perform an act of religion. This then is our prayer for the New Year —

'Lead India towards the path of Truth, the long path lies the religion of Gandhi, and lead the Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians and Jews living in India closer together.'

### HELP THE SUFFERERS

The following is an appeal for funds from Dr. Babindasulal Tager, Mr. B. Chakravartty and the C. B. Day —

Reared in the midst of calamity. A terrible epidemic swept over a large part of the province on the night of the 16th September last. Some parts of Puri (Orissa) have been laid desolate and the poorer classes reduced to a state of utter destitution. People are most without food, fuel and means. The work of the epidemic which it was most severe

covered an area of 100 miles in length and 25 miles in width, and the population affected is about 30 lakhs. Most of the villages present the air of a desolate waste. The houses are in ruins. Some people have died and are in two days. Many are killed. Many people are half-starved and in rags. Some women could not come out of their beds to receive help for want of cloth. This is a terrible sight of a very gloomy and the upland of the mountains clearly show. There was already great suffering on account of the people owing to scarcity and high prices of food stuff and cloth. The epidemic was worse, and the food stuff and cloth and the crop of other matters in the land. These present conditions had hardly been reached in the past, probably in any part of India. India is now the only country in the world where, we have no doubt, will be the all over the world and will bring forth a reform in progress. The Bengal Relief Fund Committee has been able to collect a sum of one lakh five hundred rupees of the magnitude of the work that it is in a shop in the same. We therefore appeal to the charitable and generous public of other parts to come to our help in this urgent hour of need.

My correspondence may be sent to the Manager, Bengal National Bank, Ltd., 11, Chow Street, Calcutta.

# **SOUTH AFRICAN INQUIRY COMMISSION**

## **APPENDIX B. FORMER**

The Public Administration Commission.

The following Form-Commissioner has been issued —

The Government of India have received a request from several quarters regarding the Commission, which the Secretary of State for India was reported to have made to Mr. Government's Representative-delegate on the 25th August last in the effect that he has asked that the Government of India should be directly represented by one official and one non-official upon the Commission which was to be appointed to enquire into the conditions of Indian labor in South Africa. They have now received a telegram from the Secretary of State in which he explains that a minute has been through the process "upon the Commission" has been in his hand a moment and has requested the Government of India to publish the following statement from himself —

The Government have decided to protect the representation of the Commission for the present. It has been similarly referred from a passage in the Secretary of State's recent speech, that a request has been made that the representatives of India should sit as members of the Commission. To such request has been made to the Union Government but that Government has been asked to agree to the presence of representatives (probably not official and not non-official) to be deputed by the Government of India to assist the Commission in its work, to give information and to represent the Indian and the views of the Government of India and Indian public and to give for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case.

The question of the matter to be prepared for such a representation and of the composition of the Commission may depend to some extent on the scope of enquiry as to which information has not yet been received. But I hope that the Union Government will in any event agree to the inclusion of an Indian representative on the Commission from India as the Government of India and the Secretary of State are agreed as to the great importance of maintaining an Indian voice in the B. Commission.

## **CANCELLATION OF INDENTURES EXPECTED BY 1st JANUARY**

FROM COMMISSIONER AT F.M.

Information has been received from the Secretary of State for India that the Government of F.M. has been instructed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the Indian indentured are to be released from indentures on the 1st January, 1920, on all estates, in which the following reforms suggested by Mr. C. P. Andrews have not been carried out by that date —

(1) That at the mill centers, the mills have to be constructed so as to give proper and opportunities to married laborers.

(2) That at the mill centers, the hospitals be placed under the management of a resident European.

(3) That no married contract be placed on charge of field gangs of Indian workers.

(4) That no young married hospital contract be placed on charge of an Indian hospital where there is no married laborer.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies does not consider that the demand for cancellation on the estates where these reforms have been carried out is justifiable unless compensation is offered to the planters at the expense of India.

The Government of India have now requested by telegram what would be the cost of freeing every Indian laborer on F.M. from indenture on the 1st January next.

## **INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

MR. BATHURST'S SPEECH FOR 1919.

We make an apology in quoting it in full in the very thoughtful letter on the situation in South Africa, contributed to the "Times of India," by Mr. M. B. Dabhi, lately member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Bombay.

The frank development in South Africa fully justifies Mr. Gladstone's complaint in the "Indian Mirror" of August last year that "the condition of the Imperial Commission are doubtless as you wish. There is no change of heart in the colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India." The American Land and Trading Association Act is completely in any other hypothesis. That the object of that Act is to extend the law Indian labor, is completely untrue. If there was even any doubt about that, it might be cleared up by the following extracts from the letter of the Home Secretary, representative of the "Times of India" — "There is no one in blaming the Government that there is a cheap and widespread competition in the minds of both British and Dutch in the Union that on the interests of South Africa are dependent, with its large native population and complex social problems, the presence of Indian laborers on the Union is highly detrimental and should cease. The native race and the welfare of them has been the whole man's burden, and will continue to be so. And the whole man cannot stand a brown burden on the top of his black one. But the cry of the whole question is that South Africa cannot be run economically with the Indian in it. And the white people, who have made the country, cannot be expected to accept race prejudice."

Language could not be pleasant. That the correspondence between the feelings of the bulk of the white population of the Union is evident. Without general support among the general public, which means in their case the European nations, such an enterprise could not have been thought of. The new Indian feeling is undoubtedly there, however unpoised, however unrighteous, and however untrue to its proper grounds. That it is an early protest, first strong and predominant, will appear from the history of the new Act. That history is given in the introduction to the minutes of the Hon'ble the George Brown, Commerce and Industry Minister of the Government of India, contained in his letter to Mr. Gaudet of the 15th July last.

It is evident that the attempt to substitute the French and Indian as lawless rights has resulted in a law has established of those rights and the French's understanding in the Imperial Conference has been followed by an extension of the scope of the New Law No. 3 of 1905. Lord Bute, in his Memorandum before the Imperial Conference of 1915 explained Law No. 3 of 1905 as "an understanding" and suggested in the spirit of modern legislation. The British on behalf of the British African Union Government expressed sympathetic consideration of the Memorandum.

"It is only fair to say, and it is the truth, that we have found that Indians as a rule in South Africa, who form a very substantial portion of the population, are good, law-abiding and quiet workers, and it is our duty to us, as Lord Bute has expressed it, that they are treated as human beings with feelings that are even not as a proper measure. As far as we are concerned in South Africa we are in agreement with the proposal to give the memorandum to the consideration of the Government, and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can seriously."

It has been being any attempt on behalf of the indigenous workers, the British Lord and Trading Association Act under Law No. 3 of 1905 applicable to companies as well as to individuals. Under that Act the right of individuals to acquire and own landed property in the Transvaal was restricted, but the right of companies with limited liability was not taken off and was subsequently repeatedly enlarged by the Transvaal Company Law of 1909. In effect, therefore, the members who companies for the acquisition of land property. This was purely a matter of self preservation, and it was fully warranted by both the spirit and the letter of the law. There was no question of wrong, as pointed out by the learned in his reply to the George Brown, Indians have openly done what was permitted under the law. During all these years nobody has questioned either the legality or the equity of this action of Indians. And now for the first time after nearly twenty-five years the plea of justice is raised to deprive the Indian by special legislation of the right of ownership of a homestead with all the same consequences of home ownership as non-indigenous citizen. That is a blow at which his sorrow and selfish ideas may feel proud his narrow achievement, but it is right to know that it is not home ownership. Recent feelings have been variously placed in a most inappropriate manner when the members of the Empire are faced with the problem of the emancipation, possibly on a broad basis, of also the not less important

political place of lower caste on the road to full emancipation of the thousands of self-governing, emancipation of the Frenchable and education in the way, possibly in the East. The French Lord and Trading Association Act must be understood in the light of the French's demand. That Government cannot possibly ignore their Imperial obligations to help and assist remote nations in this case without leaving themselves open to the charge of breaking to the least the words of hope ascribed to the act. The French Minister in his public utterances has repeatedly admitted Indian claims to participate in the Empire. The most consistent statements have been equally emphatic on the point. It will be a survey of statements of all the participants of Imperial and will find no reason in the few Indian nations in South Africa the principle right of freedom of trade and of acquisition of a homestead. His Majesty has put the right under the law, and it is not a legislative measure of the British African Union. That rule has, of course, to be extended to those regions in connection, but it is not a very particular for the nations, the principle that uniformly provided in all circumstances of Imperial policy and Imperial action required equally satisfaction by the Imperial Government. With the Chamber Lord and Trading Association Act of 1905 in force the following

of the British Empire or elsewhere, the substance of India was the Government of the Empire as equal terms with the Government of a law for a White does it least of India as given in the French Conference a measure equal to that of other powers which has not only not thereby nullified in the substance are denied the elementary rights of nationality. In South Africa as in the Empire it is a better position than the Indian states which have in the hands of both individuals by individuals, religious, educational and before exposure to the entire African, he has the land service. Changing this was a law that was not his appearance was a law by Lord Bute and English Government. And yet while there is apparently no objection regarding law to be enacted in the case of the Indians, British legislative disabilities are imposed upon the Indian as regarded to India. They certainly prevent a good will among Indians generally towards the Government which is so obviously necessary for the success of even the best scheme of Imperial federation. In the statement of the League of Nations, elected friends of equity like His Majesty would, it was reported, raise the British Lord and Trading Association Act, and it is most regrettable that it was not done.

In his reply to the British delegation of August 20 last the Hon'ble the French Minister disapproved of the suggested extension of the Imperial vote to include the British African as a self-governing Dominion. He said he would certainly state that the Government and people of British Africa (a) would have (b) might suggest at the meeting of India the Weyburn-Town Council and (c) the proposed vote would probably be made. He said the truth from the statement is that the suggestion is anything but convincing. It is a suggestion of the self-governing Dominion only the Imperial vote is provided as a self-governing vote, and the large process of legislation given to them in the spheres of Imperial interests. It is a measure of a measure which is so suggested in connection with the process. The measure is not only inconsistent with the extension of the Government. Even

in the scheme, even the scope and purpose of colonial legislation must first be altered to reflect proportionately the general good of the Empire. In the next place the moral effects of the entry of so many Indians into England, and, after all, here have to be assessed. I would personally have helped both the Government and the people of British India to realise their responsibility in this matter. In the same way it was an acute political evil, but certainly the least of the evils, the third entry of a man, and by Mr. Montagu was undertaken. In the next moment of all, but the preservation of all this legislation should have been assisted by systematic pressure and steadily disseminated in the Imperial Conference, and not by oblique statements and discussions in relation to general legislation. Then, again, it is not clear how the entry was not "politically feasible." If India be an Imperial asset of the Empire, political considerations should be the primary, have immediate, Imperial consideration. Mr. Montagu rightly described parliamentary India as a great mine on the ground of its capacities. India cannot satisfy itself, "under her indignation as a result felt by those who hold the reins of Government in that country," pointed out Lord Hardinge in *Forty Years of Indian History*, as India does not meet the legislative legislation. But, naturally, on the same breath Mr. Montagu set great store by "that principle of maximum satisfaction of Lord Rokeby. It means a minimum which we have no authority to fix." A constitution in the Government would appear to be based upon the principle of reciprocity. This principle is equally severely applied to all India, and then it goes. In a powerful check upon colonial governments was according to the Secretary, Mr. Montagu should therefore "in the spirit of reciprocity, but must the Government must of reducing the British Indian Union in reciprocity as Imperial obligation."

The story of the whole scheme that he has made the country may be a little different, but the story is the same. In the story that the present development and progress of British India is a whole one and a little to British India and British history. The first lesson acknowledged by the highest authorities in the world was that the British has still his place in the company of these many nations, and would therefore be an essential explanation will be furnished the means of one of the President of that Year, the experience of India before. In 1911, as a result of the results of these days, influenced by migration from India was stopped by the Government of India. The effect was immediately felt, and a representative of the British Empire came to India, in the words of Lord Hardinge "to bring for a reconsideration of that measure." The result is, the British Empire capital came to India in a manner to tell and point for how much have the country in view as he suggests the business side of the first man and the first lesson. It is the end of the movement in England of completed, however much and enjoyable. It may not be the colonial education and the new Imperialism developed in the world, developing and progress of the British Empire and a whole by the capitalisation of the movement, but the general good and moral education, among the various nations among themselves by Mr. Montagu. The movement has no place in the Imperialised Empire. With the present spirit prevailing in the self-governing colonies, Imperial Federation is destined to fail as a leading force holding together the different Dominions by bonds of moral edu-

cat and moral education. India, as an asset and business is suggested in view of the fact will not be a million, with which India as a colony is long as her own, at least those who are settled there, are desired, and only primary rights of first citizenship, but reasonable facilities of home-made conditions. The *British India and Trading Association* did not really a success in the Empire. It was impossible for the *British Empire* to have dropped the proposal about moral education. There is a great force in the work of the Government that the removal of the moral cat in the matter of permanent citizenship for the industry of the British Empire. The movement would effect of the present into Indian migration, would be exaggerated. Moral education and moral cat were under the hands of Empire.

## QUESTIONS OF INDIANS IN THE PARLIAMENT IN THE PARLIAMENT.

(From the *Young India* and *Handbook*, 1918, July, 1918)

In the Legislative Council Mr. J. H. Robinson moved

(1) That the continuance of all East Indian immigration related to employment under the provisions of the Indian Immigration Ordinance, 1904, whose period of service has not expired on August 1, 1918, be considered, with effect from that date.

(2) That employment of Indian, the continuance of whose immigration was considered as above, be put from public funds in account in respect of such immigration, which shall have the same proportion to the cost of maintenance of such immigration as the same period of the continuance shall have in the whole period thereof.

The matter of immigration had long been considered. The Government favoured during so, but the official members had been against it. When it was suggested it would have about 2000 Indians being released, at a cost of £1,000, and we thought the sum very high. The motion represented a compromise, and all parties were agreed. The next will fall upon the Government, and not upon the employers. In fact India we must look to India and many people say we could not get it. If so, we must admit more than 2000 Indians in the account of the money. In India there were more being in the country. Here we had a limit, specially noted for Indian immigration, and we cannot the money to get these people here. But we suppose that we can do anything, could we much enlarged immigration system is abolished. At the same time we did not agree that Andrew's statement was true. He said, a few years ago, and did not take reasonable view of the average population. There was a movement so far to remove any immigration in India, but we could not hope to do anything until we removed the right place system. It was not to look to China, Japan or other places, and we had estimated our efforts in India. There we had possibilities of great expansion. He had read the report of Lord T. B. Curzon, and said she appeared to have attempted to approach the subject with an open mind.

The Acting Colonial Secretary attended the motion. The motion had showed the attitude of the Government and indicated much more. The Indians here would not agree to a compromise of immigration until the whole system had been settled. Conditions here compared more favourably with other colonies. They were

most that there were many matters affecting the Indians and others, which should be considered, but the work must necessarily be guided. The Government also recognised their duty to the planters, who had been put to much expense. He referred to the national reluctance of the planters to accept concessions which they could not come right about. There were also Indian planters who were affected. He did not think they would get any further Indian system. The colony offered inducements to the Indians, compared anywhere. When India looked low for they were willing to go, he felt sure they would not object to further concessions.

Mr. H. M. Smith, E. C., and he felt sure that some of the planters was due as to their change of front. It had been long known that the people here always opposed the policy of granting the "give, go" cry from India. The position now was that unless they agreed to voluntarily cancel the concessions, there was no more. When we had a direct representation in India we could tell them that we have already done things. For these reasons they were prepared to reconsider the matter. They recognised that the Government was the dominant factor in this matter, and they might be told by someone higher up that we "will get no better until you free all your Indians." We were bound to do this. It was difficult to know where we were going to get better, or what we were going to become of the colonies created. If the Council passed the motion, then the Government would get the principal objection to the concessions removed, and he believed it would go far in helping the representation of the colony in approaching India. Everything else such like consideration of a supply of labour did not come along.

The Secretary said he was glad to receive the motion. At the last meeting of the Council he had ventured to lay on the table a paper on the subject of immigration, where he said he hoped the policy of the future would satisfy the Indians here and at times that the Government intend to provide their welfare. It would be a means of gratification if they could forward the areas that the concession had been granted unanimously.

Mr. Robinson, in reply, said that the number of labour which would be freed would be 1000, and the rest to the Government about 2000.

The motion was carried unanimously.

Done, F. J., Saturday July 24, 1909.

To the Legislative Council Mr. J. H. Robinson moved That a Select Committee be appointed to consider and report—

"(1) What steps must be taken to bring about an adjustment of the two rates among the Indians in the the Colony.

"(2) What steps should be taken to improve the housing accommodation of the East Indians employed as labourers on plantations, so as to ensure that such married couples shall occupy a separate house, and that single men and single women shall be housed in separate rooms distant apart.

"(3) What steps should be taken (a) to improve the medical and nursing arrangements (b) to extend the educational and religious facilities for East Indians generally."

He said it would show the Government and the people of the colony that they were anxious to do everything possible to remedy any inequalities. They had to consider the housing of the Indians and married couples in order to regulate the two rates, and the question of separate houses for married couples was, women was already being given effect to in many plantations. It was unfortunate that no educational progress among the natives was in evidence. He was satisfied that anything they could do to improve the material improvement of the Indians would be to the advantage of the Colony.

The Acting Colonial Secretary attended the motion.

By consent motion No. 10 on the name of Mr. H. A. Hume was taken as part of the motion. It reads "That the Government take steps for the improvement of the Indians in the Colony."

Mr. Harcourt suggested the treating of Indian women in colonies. There was great care to the Indians. While Europeans found money in India as 8 per cent., among themselves they charged 10 per cent. interest and more. They should have an Indian Bank. The Government should have their own penitentiaries or prisons with the power of holding all family quarters. If the Indian of these people were given the power it would do much good.

Acting Chief Medical Officer agreed that the question of nursing had not been sufficiently considered in the past. He thought it would be more to the interests of the community if the Indians were brought more under medical control, which would be given some medical training. They should have distinct hospitals for Indians.

Acting Agent-General for immigration and police said would be prepared if the difficulty of the work would be overcome.

Acting Attorney-General referred to an attempt in 1902 to obtain capital transferred to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Thompson and the question of housing or not was a question for the colony. He agreed with Mr. Harcourt that housing was not looked upon as a requirement by the Indians. In common housing in the night before ago in to separate in common of housing. He thought it was time we expressed our own opinion on the subject. The Secretary of State was all very willing questions of national importance. Nothing could not follow that the Secretary of State in 1902 and the Secretary of State in 1909 would be of the same opinion. Thompson was carried.

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## Notes.

**The Good Samaritan.**—The appointment of the Commission of Inquiry in South Africa is a satisfactory postscript. Meanwhile the relations between the South African Indian natives and the European Community continue to be strained and embittered. Our countrymen there have lost all faith even in the Union Government, so much so that the latest Indian Opinion's characterization them as part of 'white' England. In this atmosphere of hate and remoteness it is but meet that a man like Mr. Andrews should be sent to carry the message of love and hope and to help all to understand one another better should proceed to South Africa. That noble-hearted Englishman is doing his full share in the work of our national regeneration. If it is the honour of India as mentioned in Ty to be defeated he is there. If wrong is to be rectified in the Punjab and wrong done to the helpless and the weak is to be there. If it is the Tamil leaders of Ceylon who require his support he gives them unflinchingly and now when there is a call from S. Africa he readily responds. The South African Ministers know him. Our countrymen have already felt the warmth of his efforts in their hour of need and we doubt not that Mr. Andrews will be able to mark them and to pave the way for the masses that is to proceed back, Africa on behalf of the Government of India and through the question breaks with difficulties, with Mr. Andrews in South Africa we may safely hope for a speedy settlement.

**Conflicting injustice in Madras.**—The Naid people are a practical people. It will be remembered that not many days ago they appealed to H. E. the Governor to remove the punitive police, imposed on their towns, periodically at least, pending the result of the Inquiry Committee. They followed the leading explanation vouchsafed by Government, in reply to a question in the matter, put by Ras Sahab Harid Das at the local legislative council, which explanation remained the dominating misrepresentation by which the Government were misled into meeting an innocent people. These misrepresentations have been detailed in these columns in more articles than one. The Naid people have now, in a petition which will be found elsewhere, pointed out these misrepresentations to Government and shown them that they have been really condemned without. Apart from the incomplete and false information at the base of Government's action involving it unjustly to the Naid, there is the fact that even the principles which Government have followed elsewhere do not justify the levy of the expense of punitive police on Naid. The ordinary police of Naid is adequate enough to maintain public peace and safety and the imposition of the additional police is superfluous. The people are whole and another take part in the same complained of, our citizens at home. In fact the Collector in his letter to the Naid Municipality dated 21st April, thanked the leaders for using their influence in the direction of moderation. On no ground therefore can the levy of the expense be justified. We have no doubt that the Committee appointed to inquire into the matter of the disturbances and government acts with them, will render a finding in favour of the people of Naid if the latter insist on placing before them the irrefragable facts of their case. But it is not still too much to expect H. E. Sir George Lloyd to give his earnest consideration to this matter and to allow us room for the finding that an unnecessary and unjustifiable measure was taken in a part of the presidency.

**The Enquiry Committee and Newspaper Reports.**—It is joy that we should have on record the proceedings of the Enquiry Committee on the authority of which we say enthusiastically with. The Associated Press report is really lacking in particular of evidence favorable to the people's side. This Chronicle's special representative's version counteracts the popular side of the evidence. Neither is this adequate and entirely reliable and we have to supplement our by the other. But even that does not carry us far. These reports strikingly conflict against each other, not in matter of detail dated, but at least in matters of very serious importance and thus the poor reader is left lamentably alone. Thus for instance speaking as to the nature of action in reply to British Government's question the Honourable Mr. Banerjee said, according to the Associated Press report "Asked if the Council meetings had any effect on the agitation, he said, and he heard saying the nature of the question the statement that the Government were going to whitish down the agitation." The Chronicle's representative with version appears to be more detailed but conflicting in the main particular: "The capital of India having been shifted and Delhi no longer being a sleepy hollow there would be more political agitation and Council meetings would be political expressions of the people. He did not hear saying the nature of action but that Government were going to whitish down the agitation."

Elsewhere Mr. Banerjee describing the incidents of the 11th October is reported, by the Chronicle's representative to have said: "On the 11th October there was a very big lathi-charge. About 20 percent of shops were closed. A large meeting was held on that day. There was no police officer present and there was no disturbance during those days." The Associated Press representative contradicts the magnitude of the lathi-charge and simply says, "On the 11th October there was a big meeting. On that day as a matter of fact no police officers were present and there was no disturbance." The Associated Press representative then describes in a summary manner the very direct and telling part of the Hon. Mr. Banerjee's evidence regarding the lathi-charge, having warned him before, of the presence of the police contradicting to the disturbances, and his confidence that there was no disturbance except in the presence of the police in the military but our version is then referred to by the Hon. Mr. Banerjee, in the Chronicle's representative's report, while the Associated Press representative supplies it. He mentions "Agitation" which is very pertinent.

We should like only one paragraph more. As regards the meeting of 20th March, the Associated Press version of Mr. Banerjee's evidence is: "On the evening of 20th March he did stop a meeting but told Swami Vivekananda that action he took himself responsible for the safety conduct of the crowd, the meeting could not be held. He gave a statement and the violence and the police should not interfere." Here is the Chronicle's representative's version: "Police did

not stop the meeting so Swami Vivekananda's statement that the crowd would disperse peacefully after the meeting. He also admitted Swami Vivekananda telling him, he would not be responsible of the Police violence. Without he told the Evening's the Police would not interfere."

We write in the interests of the public the reports were more careful and paid much greater regard to truth and accuracy than to a certain side of the case.

**A career of repression and hatred.**—Mr. Banerjee's story who with us India claims to be truthful about the circumstances that led to his resignation, has made them sufficiently clear in his words on "Discontent and Repression in India" in Mrs. Banerjee's new weekly "United India". It is obvious that the repressive policy of the Government of which he had to be an unwilling participant, was on his arrival and he was entirely sick of it when, as he tells us, it "culminated in the so-called Punjab outbreak, where we had to apply Martial Law, on the ground that the law of the Englishmen were not safe and that rebellion had broken out. 'De sitri-maharaj', he reminds us in a graphic manner, "that the Punjab had the reputation of being the most loyal province in all India, yet the head of the province who was ever kind of contrasting by coming and out of season the rebellion made by the Punjab and its loyalty with the agencies for Home Rule earned us in the rest of India, had to have that province like a thorn in the night, after proclaiming Martial Law in that district." No Government, he reminds us, should take any necessary steps for the protection of the law abiding citizens. Indian Government, he explains, "are conscious in a career of repression and of hatred of the people at large," and "a maintenance of repression is proof of backsliding of statesmanship." "Promission on the one side and violation on the other this deadlock between repression and dissent each following the other is and has intercourse, cannot be tolerated." These are words which should make both the Government and the British native press and public and take prompt action, unless they want people to believe that they have had good bye to their crown. They must no longer blink at the evil that lies at the root of the situation. Mr. Banerjee makes it clear at the conclusion of his article "The measure introduced to deprive a man of the liberty of his person or property, or to restrain suppressing freedom of speech in any form should be allowed to be passed by the Executive Government in India without Indian opinion thereon being considered by the public of British India." Here between the lines, Mr. Banerjee's story is a warning to Britain that if it at all means to reduce the position and prestige of the Government of India, and secure the faith of the Indian people in British justice, it should no longer tolerate the existence of the Executive Act on the Executive Book, and the shame of the Punjab—the shame of the empire committed in the eyes of law and order and of the many a messenger of justice perpetrated in the name of justice.

## Young India.

*Announced, Wednesday, 12th November, 1915.*

### SOUTH AFRICA.

It is necessary to understand the Indian situation in South Africa a little more fully in order to come to a just conclusion as to it. When General Smuts says that he will refer to the Commission the question of voting only be means voting in the Transvaal only. Therefore the position as to Indians such as the other provinces will remain the same as now even after the Commission. This means that Indians may not as yet hope to trade in the Free State. We feel that in the present state of the feeling in South Africa it is not possible to have the Free State opened to Indian trade. The trade question at the Cape and in Natal is more subtle. We may therefore roughly divide the reference being referred to the Transvaal as far as trade is concerned.

The next question is that of ownership of land. Here again the question hardly arises as far as the Cape and Natal are concerned. In the Free State our countrymen are barred by law from owning land. We must therefore restrict ourselves to the Transvaal for the time being. And for the Transvaal, it is absolutely necessary to have the question referred to the Commission. It must be remembered that under the new Act Indians of the Transvaal have been as completely and even deliberately deprived of the rights they had till then enjoyed of holding land as mortgages or as shareholders in a registered company. If then the reference involves the question of land-ownership the new Act will stand. This will be against the explicit promise made by Mr. Smuts. And as no one could the Government of India be party to the deprivation of the right of ownership of land.

Now the right of ownership of land and the right to trade are affected or regulated by the Cape and Natal and the Transvaal Act, and the Free State and Free State Act popularly known as the Old Law. The reference must therefore of course the assurance of justice is to be done to our people within the meaning of Law 5 of 1907 and so much of the Transvaal Act and the Natal Law of Transvaal as they affect the South Indian rights to trade and own land.

Then there remains the question of immigration and migration, the administration of the Immigrants Restriction Act in other respects and the political situation what may be termed a poor regulations.

The question of immigration migration is difficult to be settled Free State is concerned. And we would personally be satisfied if the two main questions regarding the Transvaal are settled in

any case the matter is capable of being satisfactorily adjusted and if reasonable limitations are offered to Indians born in South Africa the question can easily find solution for itself.

The administration of the Immigrants Restriction Act involves other than immigration migration is a most important question. The granting of voting rights, the methods of administration, the granting of rights of full residence to a certain number of Indians for the wants of the smallest community require sympathetic attention and handling. There are two questions regarding education of the Indian children which must be properly solved. We do not think that these matters need be referred to the Commission. But if they cannot be diplomatically solved they must form part of the reference. And the manner that is to proceed to South Africa on behalf of the Government of India can do a great deal in the matter by conference with the Ministers as also the members of the Commission.

The question of the political status, we fear, cannot be opened at the present moment. We sympathise with the aspirations of our countrymen across the sea. They must see at the political franchise. But the Government of India cannot go to war with South Africa over the franchise. Time pressure and emergency conduct on their part must bring about a change in the attitude of white settlers of South Africa. Above all India's progress in the direction of responsibility must rest upon the whole world.

It is said to think that we have to fight for what must be our inherent right, we mean the right to trade and own land in British dominions. It affects us as much as any body. But we must face the facts as they are. And the facts are that our countrymen in the Transvaal are engaged in the struggle merely to live as honest and self-respecting men. South Africa cannot deprive them of these rights without forcing her share to be played as a wicked state and the Government of India cannot allow these elementary rights to be taken away on any account whatsoever.

For the rest the Indian settlers and we must decide the adjustment of the full status and goal to work for. We do not see that the forthcoming Commission can take us to that goal. But having made full allowance for the difficulties of the Union Government and for the wide part of the white settlers in South Africa we must even the Government of India that they will bring a sacred trust if they allow the rights of the Indians as they existed at the time of the withdrawal of 1904 to be restored by us now. They must make clear to the Union Government and the people of South Africa that Commission or no Commission, the rights contemplated by the white agents of 1904 cannot be whittled away in any shape or form.

## A COLONIZATION SCHEME

BY MR. MR. S. L. FOLLE.

When the system of indentured Indian emigration was brought to an end by the Government of India in 1917, there were four Crown Colonies partly dependent upon it. These were British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji. An attempt was made to ensure that some sort of substitute labour supply should be available so that these Colonies should not suffer unduly because of the stoppage of indentured labour. To that end an Inter-departmental Committee set for some time in Whitehall and eventually produced a scheme of assisted labour emigration which was very adversely commented upon in India last year when its details became known. Nor were there the only criticisms that the scheme evoked, for each of the four Crown Colonies emphasized it for one reason or another.

British Guiana was particularly troubled at the stoppage of Indian labour emigration, for the Colony felt that it was being punished for the benefit of others, notably Fiji and Natal, and it was claimed that Indians in British Guiana were better off in most respects than in any other British Colony. In addition, the Colony felt the need for industrial and agricultural expansion, which could only be effected, it was urged by further immigration from somewhere or other. It was alleged that no surplus of population could be hoped for from neighbouring Colonies and that India was the only possible source of supply. Accordingly a committee was formed for the purpose of promoting a Colonization Scheme for British Guiana, and members of this Committee, some of whom are about to proceed to India, with the object of taking the views of the producers and employing the assets of the Colony and the material advantages offered to intending emigrants, are now in England. They point out that Indians form 60 per cent. of the present population, almost all of the remainder being negro or coloured. They claim that Indians represent the most intelligent and enterprising element in the population and that substitution is to make of British Guiana an Indian Colony. The scheme of colonization that they propose is described by them as "a scheme of free and voluntary State-aided emigration." The expression "State-aided," however, is misapplied, having regard to the history of Indian labour emigration.

To make the scheme a success the promoters realize of course that the first thing is to arrange for regular and cheap steamship communication between India and British Guiana. This will prove a formidable obstacle, having regard to the prospect of stopping difficulties during the next few years and the chances of any fairly decent, or special facilities until some scheme of the kind is on the working

order. It is further proposed that Indian producers and intermediaries should be appointed by the Colonial Office with the approval of the Government of India. Their duties would be to assist the incoming labour to obtain suitable employment with registered employers of labour, and to be satisfied that the general conditions with respect to housing, medical attendance, sanitation and wages are complied with. These however were always the duties of the officials appointed under the indenture system and they were not, as we know, always efficiently carried out. So much will depend upon the appointment of the right type of official. An Indian Wage Board is proposed to be appointed by the Government to fix any increase in the rate of wages as necessary arises. It ought to be remembered, here, that the employers will be as often as not Indians whose views on the subject of wages might not coincide with those of the labourers. Various other advantages are put forward, and the scheme, on paper, is not unimpressive.

But besides difficulties that have been suggested above, there are others which seem to me of primary importance. In the first place, the majority of the population in all India and there is evidence to show that a very small proportion of that majority want at all to emigrate to the Colony take upon Indian emigration. It should I think be recalled that the local non-Indian population, having no other home is entitled to every consideration. From the point of view of modern industry it may not be very enterprising, but that does not seem to me to be an argument for overhauling it with a large Indian influx. Nor is it particularly clear that emigration is necessary, or, if so, that it is impossible from neighbouring West Indian Islands. The opponents of the scheme point out that British Guiana is suffering the Colony and that Colon, by paying higher wages than are offered in British Guiana is getting labour from Barbados. This may be only temporary immigration, but even a considerable portion of the labour hoped for Indian emigration expected to be, White, or, perhaps, even a no strongly marked one. Indian living in British Guiana, newspaper colonization seem to point to the fact that it would not be very difficult to work it up. One does not need to see the unnecessary introduction of racial differences where they have not hitherto existed.

There are other objections raised. It is alleged that the white owners mostly situated represented by their managers do not really want an colonization and development, but of cheap labour exploitation. That of course, is not the view of the Indian members of Colonization Committee, but the question is whether they will be able to control these non-Indian enterprises when the push comes. They have discouraged us that they do not want any recruitment to India, either under official or non-official auspices, but that emigration from India shall be conducted and proceed on the same basis as European

migrations to the Dominions, it should be absolutely free and voluntary.

In principle this seems to be unquestionable, but if at all it is permitted, it ought to be distinctly on the condition that the emigrants should be one of education and that emigration should be only by families, and uneducated individuals, save in highly exceptional circumstances or in other members of a family, should not be allowed to emigrate. The Dominions scheme, and even now, though British Colonies as I understand, much better adopted in this respect than most other places to which Indian labourers have gone, the proportion of the women is below that of the men. In this and in other important respects, it cannot properly be said that our administration of the indentured system has speedily disappeared, which alone should warrant favourable consideration of further emigration proposals.

I am strongly of opinion that emigration from India upon the conditions proposed ought to depend upon two things in British Guiana itself. First, the condition of the local Indian Community should be greatly improved and then be stated as advertisement for others. Secondly, some labour and immigrants in the Colony, especially in the Crown districts and the under-occupied parts, ought to be really improved before more Indians should be invited to migrate there. Evidence was produced at a public meeting of Indians in Georgetown, British Guiana, this year, that the condition of the local Indian Community was far from being all that it should be. The central point was expressly emphasised in the local paper, "Indian Opinion", which is edited by a close relative of one of the Indian leaders of the present administrative department. The paper said—

"We must first put our house in order before we can expect outsiders to be attracted to these shores as it becomes permanent settlers. So far as the East Indians are concerned we would strongly urge the desirability of settling there on lands well drained and well irrigated and in favourable localities with reasonable decent dwellings from the Government by way of loan on the mortgage of their holdings, repayable in small instalments stretched over a convenient period thereby enabling them to become in course of time a well established permanent proprietary. Whether as sugar plantations or outside of sugar plantations these people who have done so much to save the colony from economic disaster in the past should be better looked after than has been the case in the past. The housing of labourers and the sanitary conditions under which they live, the education of potential labourers, the drinking water supply, medical arrangements, these and other questions so vitally affecting them should be given every possible consideration, if they are to have the security of their adoption and thereby proper security, and if more of these Indian workers are to come over and share their lot. It does not speak well for the place when schemes for industrial progress are devised and when

when they are at the entry of domains that are practicable. We have particularly in mind the rice industry, which has been built up patiently and laboriously by them, by their own exerted efforts, and even in the face of strong opposition on the part of (with a few exceptions) the sugar planters, who considered it a dangerous menace to the interests of the staple crop, and yet the rice industry, which today is an important factor in the industrial economy and is capable of far wider expansion, is left to depend altogether upon the chance of the weather for its existence. It is with better feelings we think also of the deplorable lack of some specific organized effort on the part of those concerned with the public health to deal intelligently and effectively with conditions responsible for the development and spread of disease germs. We have no doubt that if improvements and reforms could be made on the lines suggested, not only would the economic interests of the East Indian element of the population be enormously advanced and their physical efficiency appreciably increased, but in themselves they would furnish the best and most convincing evidence of the worth of British Guiana as a colonisation field. As it is, we must say that much has been accomplished after eighty years of emigration. Those who have got on here have been able to do so, not because of any beneficial operation of the immigration system, but in spite of that system. By lack of severe frugality, stretched to the majority of men to penny-pinching parsimony and simple living, working hard in order to save, have the few who have acquired wealth succeeded in doing so. The half-dozen Indian professional gentlemen in the Colony are the descendants of those successful few and so are the leading Indian merchants, the greater part of whom have built upon the foundations laid in better days by their fathers or grandfathers. With the exception of the man-power and the stock farmers whose fortunes fluctuate with weather conditions, which, acting adversely, if the houses rains may be destruction—the prosperity of the people lies a hand-to-mouth existence, whilst thousands are to be found in the towns and villages as jobbers, vagrants and beggars, not to mention so many more in the hospitals, the Almshouses and the Lunatic Asylum."

There is in addition a good deal of official evidence showing that the health conditions of the Colony are not nearly as good as they are at present represented to be. It would thus appear that our present prospects are pessimistic. It is very doubtful whether Indians of the so-called "respectable" class will be induced to emigrate to British Guiana and it seems to me that the arrival of any large numbers of Indians

labourers at any given time would result in economic depression by the cutting of wages of those who are already there. That, at any rate, appears to be a substantial fact on the part of those among the British Government who are opposed to this scheme.

The Indian members of the Committee whom I have met and with whom I have discussed the situation at some length have recently asserted that they do not see for the scheme immigration from India to British Guiana, but that they think that it is necessary first of all to put their house in order, so that it may be a speaking advertisement to induce emigration from India. They appear to be under the impression that India possesses a large labour surplus which can be tapped at will. I have told them that so far as I am acquainted with labour conditions in India, they have severely misinterpreted the whole on and that even after they have studied Indian public opinion of the *homo-fides* of their case and that no improper restraints are being or will be held out to possible emigrants, the promoters of this scheme will have to realize that they will be subject to the natural economic competition of others both in India itself and in outside countries now at hand, anxious to secure supplies of Indian labour. They would hardly expect to be put on better terms than Ceylon, Burma or Malaya, on the one hand, and certainly not than the growing Indian industrial enterprises of the future, on the other.

#### LALA LAJPAT RAI'S LETTER TO MR. DANIEL.

The following portions of a letter recently received from Lala Lajpat Rai by Mr. Gandhi will be of striking interest.—

The Indian politicians next require care. For all that the country will not make any appreciable progress towards freedom if they must always content themselves and waste on the farm. There is more work to do, enterprise. There are great risks in the enterprise of preparing a nation for the struggle for freedom. What an enterprise on this to be engaged for creating misadventures of lifelessness and ignorance to realize, the movement for freedom must be conducted by persons who are independent of group selfishness. I am thus wholeheartedly in favour of your policy of public discussion, and what getting up most useful considerations to what your efforts have met, I have failed to find therein anything except to convince me to the contrary. I deplore the movement in America, Russia, Japan, and other places, but judging from a distance, I am proud of the manner you advanced in this first attempt of passive resistance in India. It is an achievement, except in our history, any even in the history of the world. It has raised the political consciousness of the country by one big leap and also raised the country in the estimation of the world.

Dearest resistance ought to be carried to with great care and ardour. It should not be allowed to descend to the level of the rebellion. But when after was undertaken it is decided to have recourse to it, every one should be prepared for sacrifice.

My best wish for the success of my countrymen of the Punjab and I am extremely sorry that certain things should have happened at this old of America, Japan, and Russia, but otherwise I am proud of the nature of the attitude. Should be certain like these nations is not to be retained in respect and even or even in the actual attitude of the Government but in the spirit which is needed by the undertaking. Mahatma, I for me, am proud of you, and of my country, even more than I was was before.

The Congress has been trying to educate those who were already educated. The Congress leaders have looked to their voters for the success of their movement, you look to the rest of the country. It is the latter along with you, then, that will win in the end. If the advance of the country has to depend on the English educated countrymen, then it will never be achieved. Even the Government will not make any concessions unless they know that poor demands are backed by the people. The people must be educated politically and they cannot be educated by the methods so far followed by the Congress leaders. Besides me, Sir, (I have already several times for being foolish and ignorant) has saying himself, that the old Congress leaders have always felt shy of the masses.

I have no faith in the sincerity of the Indian-British Association, nor do I believe in the propaganda started by the Dr. Pan school of these Indian politicians of the South, because all their statements about the educated leaders having been earlier and towards the masses severely devoid of truth. While we have felt that our own incomes, consisted of hundreds and thousands and less, we are small, we have felt especially that the poor in India, exposed to such fate. But for the efforts of a Digby and a Shering the statements of the Anglo-Indians about the prosperity of the masses might be somewhat confirmed. However, if our leading politicians have been tried to understand the condition of the masses by actual contact with them? They have made speeches, written books of volumes full of phrases about and various plans, but how many of them can honestly say that they know of the condition of the masses by personal contact? The Barons of India, the two Princes, the Viceroy in Bengal and on the Punjab have been doing nothing, the leaders have given a few papers on theory, now and then, but so to a real substantial effort to understand and realize their country. There has not been much of that. As to any of us trying to help them, why that has never entered our heads. We have been glorifying in our selfish spending so much money on their social trips to the hills. What have we been doing ourselves? The fact is that we have not up to our present standard of resistance to what we are pleased to call their work, we are not engaged in any work. A successful lawyer making from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 5000 a month is entitled to spend three months on the hills to take rest while a farmer or a trader or a clerk not making more than 100 or 200 or 300 or even 400 rupees a year must not go to the hills. Is really the work of a lawyer of more

not to the nation than that of a farmer or a teacher or a  
 soldier? I am not saying this in a spirit of sniping  
 criticism. I have been one of those things in latter  
 modern times. But I am saying this because in my  
 judgment, the spirit of our political movement requires  
 complete change. The country will never be free, it will not  
 prosper as yet, as yet, as yet, does not prosper because  
 who will think in the people, rather than in the confusion  
 of the capitalists, the producers, the fight. Let me say  
 in all earnest that the people in India in shortness are  
 much more honest, sincere and self-sufficient than their  
 so-called educated leaders. They are educated, as usual is  
 the case of high nations here, but even when they lay  
 out ready find out what is the truth, they are  
 in the case of the so-called educated leaders. Who  
 among us does not feel? Some other diploma has  
 taken in my education, educated, have been. An ordinary  
 labourer is much more honest and truthful than the great  
 man among the English education. He takes no man, he  
 takes no man, he takes no man. He works hard, and  
 from a life of truth. What matter of Great Britain or  
 France of India. Let us give up everything, and let us  
 founded the truth. What our nation need most is  
 not money in the millions of millions of  
 millions, but honesty in self-government, but right  
 absolutely honest, healthy honesty, and more,  
 uneducated, uneducated education, with their  
 better educated and better educated education. Let  
 them do it and you will never uplift the country, then by  
 means of honesty and honesty and by words of honesty.  
 Having seen most of the best parts of the world,  
 I have come to the conclusion that the Indian nation are  
 comparatively more intelligent, more honest, more capable  
 to carry than any other people seriously educated. We  
 have to make them masters of their great possibilities  
 by working with them in a spirit of cooperation and  
 not against the free and a hard of education.

The greatest need of the country, as it appears to me, is the spreading of the means, accompanied by an equal education of the right sort. If I had my influence over the Indian Press I would try to draw its query the following explanation in his capital letters over the last page of every newspaper, in every name:

The greatest need of the Country  
 Still for us here  
 I need the soldier  
 To save the world.

The president must supply that of his no release when. The nation must be made to realize that no one committed to my job unless the below first, the system, the end, and the needed must have got it, that no one committed to business, too even the obvious, when every man and woman on the nation has been misled. This is but one of thousands.

An organization should be started as 'reverse market' in order to fulfill an immediate need of the country as it may be possible. These organizations should promote financial of numerous average standards of food and clothing required for a healthy mode of rural life with dignity and peace. This will then be in a position to grow then to be the self-sufficient, enhancement of productivity made by citizens. We try to do this. For the future generations in this process, the first

work 5. I think it is clear that our political system is in need of reform so reform should become the

There do not seem to be any. I do not mean to say that more figures will come out fairly. By its nature, figures will expose the poverty and the misery of the situation as an actual threat to us.

The thing to be immediately done is to separate the country for economic purposes of dealing with the poverty and the balance. The event must leave the nation. The top people will take care of themselves. I was more of economic interest and generally at the end of political talk, but in addition to it and to a summary balance for it. The nation must be taken with and not on individualism.

ADDITIONAL POLICE IS NEEDED

Received 10 October 2007; accepted 12 November 2007

The following patient has been sent to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay by the solicitors of Naidel.

Then by order of the Honorable Government Political Department at Washington No. 414 dated 1946 July 1948, an additional Palace of an amount cost of \$6,000,000 has been imposed on Pakistan, among it is said, to the credit of the independence of the town.

7. That 14 April last the people of Kashmir have shown their interest in, regarding law and preserving order and an obedient have manifested through the local authorities, and the United States. In spite of such behaviour, a clear line has been run upon the people of Kashmir by the language of tribalism, Police and so, heavily favouring that in doing so, the Government has not given direction to the people, they have presented a picture in Your Excellency's Government on 14th October 1952.

3. That in relation to the additional Police at Ketchikan, the Honorable M. B. Harboist, St. James, had put on some misunderstanding as to the length of time James had been in September last, but on reading the answers, given by the Government to three questions were answered that in relation to Ketchikan, Government are not in possession of real facts and the answers that have been given to interpretation show that the Government is in place. Under Government it is different kind of answer.

4. That no member of the people of Nauru were away before the English School on 11th April, but as there was a general strike at the time, all children under 16 were absent, and the people of the island were using the Head Master to close the school on that day. It appears that some boys were absent on that day and as they were a little excited.

3. That at this time the same man who is said to be the head of the mob of had no concern with the crime, and was not there, but was standing at the Dulwich Railway Station, from which place he was met by Mr. Hitchcock, Secretary of the Dulwich Road Society, to testify the loyalty and respect of Mr. Jacobson, the Father and Treasurer of Dulwich.

10 That this man was not in possession of any special passbook on that day, but the ticket for the possession of which he has been convicted was obtained from him on 11th April and he has given his explanation for the possession by stating that three copies were received by the House Rifle Officer on the same day, and that George Lewis handed to him when mentioned before, the

were ordered to be destroyed, and the task out of them out of necessity to read it.

7. That they deny the story that on 11th April a crowd was going towards the Indian Dargy to attack it by force and that it was dispersed by the Police. On 11th April the strike in the town had for the most part quieted, and no crowd went towards the Dargy. It was on the morning of the 11th April that some people were going towards the Dargy to stop the work, but on learning the intention was, the Sahayogas prevented them and to do such a thing, and so, they went back. This matter is fully within the knowledge of the District.

8. That they deny the allegation that additional police was sent to the Railway line as Telegraph wires were cut on the 11th April.

9. That excepting the damage done to the Railway on the morning of the 11th, they know of no other damage excepting being caused either to the Railway line or to Telegraph wires either on that day or thereafter up to this day.

10. That no offences in any act of violence have been alleged to have been done by the people of Noidah except the one involving damage to the Railway line on the morning of the 11th on both the letters of the District Magistrate of Etawah dated 21st April 1919 and 19th May 1919. This very fact proves that attempts have been made to give a false version to the attempts made by the people of Noidah to preserve law and order, and to the consequent preservation of peace.

11. That they believed that the people of Noidah have since 11. preserved peace at a time when the number of people were everywhere excited, and the local officers are themselves witnesses to this fact.

12. That from the 11th April that they do not know of there ever existing danger of any sort either to the permanent Railway line or to Telegraph wires up to date, and so, we are thus surprised to find one and was to question (12) to the effect that the additional Police was kept there for guarding the Railway line and Telegraph wires. They at the same time do not know there was alleged in any way that the ordinary police here as in Noidah was overstrained inadequate to preserve law and order but do they know of there having been found any more difficulty in preserving law and order in April, than in any ordinary time.

13. That they beg to quote here the explanation given by the Hon'ble Mr. Richardson on behalf of the Government in relation to the increased value of the Hon'ble Mr. Coleman R. P. Smith on the basis of the additional Police increased on the strike day, as the District Magistrate General held on 1st July 1919.

"... In the first place I would point out that the words 'positive police' used in the resolution have no justification in law or practice. I might have explained a few lines the principles upon which the additional police are located in any area. The Police arrangements in any particular locality, such as these Allah Bakh, are based upon the normal requirements of the District for the maintenance of law and order and for dealing with the normal amount of crime which may be expected there. When, as happens at Allah Bakh, crimes of violence take place or large and violent mobs assemble, the conditions become such as

to require the control of the normal strength of the Police, and then it is that Government takes advantage of the lowest leaving additional police in the area so that public security may be maintained. The object of leaving the additional Police is not to punish the perpetrators of the crime but to prevent the law-abiding inhabitants of the area from doing so. As is plainly demonstrated the additional police is not placed to punish the people of any area for any offence committed. It must never be placed to punish the offenders but as ordinary law the police strength is kept up to meet the average number of offences, and in, if in some towns offences of violence occur, additional police is placed there for the safety of the non-offending public.

If this principle is attended to, the people of Noidah hardly believe that in Noidah no offences have been committed to endanger public safety and that nobody alleges that the present strength of police is inadequate on the ground of any increase in offences, but on the contrary, the reports of the local officers made on the 11th and 12th April as well as the letter dated 21-4-19 of the District Magistrate of the Etawah State plainly show that Noidah people especially attempted to preserve peace. After the 11th April, no more than ordinary offences have occurred in Noidah.

14. That they therefore humbly request that in their opinion there appears no justification in keeping the additional police in Noidah. That their humble contention is that the letter of the District Magistrate dated 19th May 1919 clearly shows that Noidah has been the centre of Etawah Police and Sahayogas activities in the District, and the officers do not seem to eye with them, and the suggestion of this additional police is recommended to punish the Noidah people for carrying on these lawless unconstitutional movements.

15. That Your Hon'ble's petitioners beg to state that except the damage done by a few men, to the Rail way line, order has been preserved in Noidah, and this incident has throughout been out of respect for law, that they consider it a pity upon them as that the whole town is being punished for the offence of a few men in spite of their attitude of mind.

16. That Your Hon'ble's petitioners pray that on the above grounds Your Hon'ble will be pleased to require the extra burden placed upon Noidah and that if from any quarter any further allegations are made, Your Hon'ble will be pleased, before inflicting them to be free to make the allegations, and give justice to Your Hon'ble's petitioners.

And, for the want of brevity, Your Hon'ble's petitioners are that, in this behalf, for ever pray.

#### BUSINESS NOTICE

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## Notes.

**By Way of Content**—The Release has been moved. The Government have found it impossible to accede to the request to the All-India Congress Committee for the temporary release of the political prisoners of the Congress. Now the request was merely moderate and would not have been otherwise proceeding as it did from the Hon. Sardar Baldev Mahan Malviya. It is too late in the day to expiate on the presentment, namely for the release of the leaders. It should be as clear as daylight to all. It is a confession that Government are too much blinded by considerations of prestige to do it. The Hon. Sardar Malviya rightly told the president of the Congress Committee on his letter to Lord Hunter for it is the duty of the Congress Committee to do what they can, to be real and not a farce. The fellow freedomists lay upon the public to prevent their move.

It may not be out of place here to contrast the grounds adopted by the Committee with those of the Congress Committee. When Gandhi, Kulkarni and Palki were in Prison in 1911 when the Congress began its struggle in November 1912, Mr. William Salomon, constant guest that he was, recommended that the steps that were necessary to be taken before the Congress proceeded on its journey. On the first day of the struggle he stated that requests had to be made to his wife so that it would be to the advantage of interested parties and of assistance to the Congress of the former was represented by himself. He mentioned that the

Government of India if they desired to appear before the Congress they might do so. And the last and the most important of his statements was that with a view to working the inquiry to be as thorough as possible the Congress had recommended to the Government that examination the status of Indians in Natal was of an and, Messrs. Gandhi, Palki, Kulkarni and any other Indian leaders at present in jail should be immediately released. Of these Mr. Gandhi had also said to serve a period of seven months, but they were immediately and unconditionally released. It will be noted that the request for the release of the Indians did not proceed from the Congress, the Congress acted on their own initiative, and that none of the released leaders were anxious that they should be released, as all of them declared on the day of their release that they preferred the prison of the present. It will also be noted that the leaders were so glad for admitted benefits of the law while in jail in the people who are pressing for the release of the leaders who, the public membership had been been wrongfully arrested. Whereas the Indian in South Africa had to give no compensation even for full freedom, Government have one month to set his leaders free even 'temporarily for the purpose of the inquiry' and on adequate security. No demand could be more partially complete.

Nothing could be more complete than the refusal of the present Congress Committee to accept the All-India Congress Committee and the Government will have one last thing to say, is that if they had to justify themselves in the eyes of the world.

**Plundered pledge**—The Premier has spoken. The other day Mr. Robert Law, representing the Government and Mr. Lloyd George, was so ready to discuss with my person of the speech of January 1, 1918. It will be remembered that throughout the one containing that solemn pledge on larger solemnity.

Now we are fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital of the rest and recovered lands of Asia, Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race. Evidently Mr. Lloyd George was false for the pledge and has for the abolition of the demand to India and Egypt. For on the top of Mr. Robert Law's state-

much more the Premier was, more interested than the former. He says, "Turkey was never a colliery in point than in war. The Allies were completely agreed in the fundamental principles of the settlement with Turkey whose misgovernment of lands populated by the Greek, Arab and Armenian must be ended. All were agreed that the gulf in the Black Sea must be free to all nations and that the guardianship could no longer be trusted to France that had betrayed its trust. All then signed a pledge on the month after the pledge of January 26th 1910. But it is useless to remind him of the pledge when, as we have said before he never meant it."

It is safe to hope for a satisfactory Turkish settlement after this. We hope this will open the eyes of those who are still advocating participation in the peace negotiations with the plea that all is not yet over. It is impossible to disagree with a commitment of the kind of what was allowed to be understood as solemn pledges. We would, if we could, persuade the Government to refrain from negotiations under these circumstances. But they have yet to learn the wisdom of heeding to the presence of public opinion. Until that happy day comes, the people will have to sit silent with simply asserting their opinion.

**"Alas! We Had No Voice"** Extracts from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's evidence and by Reader may have led many to believe that the ex-minister had cast off his reactionary views. That is however far from the case. His long stay in that prison of the last War, perhaps suggested to him his coming participation of the two civilisations and Europeans. But 'he was almost washed out,' as the London Correspondent of the Hindu says "by the combined force of those Eastern and Western streams of interrogation." Lord Salisbury and Mr. Montagu said the previous volume of ordinary Government was shown to be nothing more than a pretentious fraud. Mr. Kitchener's recent letter of his to the Kaiser lays bare the real Sir Michael. He says (we translate from *Wardian*) :-

You can easily imagine what kind of evidence Sir Michael must have given before the Select Committee. His views are clearly published along with the Government of India's Dispatch. His criticism to the Commissioners' written questions were in 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 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PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

The question of the Four Civilizations is one of the most hotly discussed of the day. Mr. Gordon's letter suggesting non-participation would the Hindu-Indians consent to the introduction of our Modern brethren may have done to bury the Anglo-Indian section of the Press. But there is no doubt that much before. Mr. Gordon's letter to the Press the question was on the topic of God up words and a large portion of the community had decided against participation. If there was any doubt as to this, it has been cleared by the statements of Dr. Arnold and Mr. John. Most Indians who were interviewed by some Indian Press correspondents are

The Anglo-Indian Press who with the probable exception of the *Times* or *India*, refuse to recognize the gravity of the Khilafat question, is naturally laughing and jeering at the suggestion of non-participation. But even the *Press* which is so characteristically English in spirit rating Mr. Gandhi for rebelling the poor and the destitute of their Peace Day gifts of food and money, recognizes the strength of Indian feeling and shrewdly suggests the dropping of what is weak, but a point of belated orthodoxy. The Indian Press is largely unanimous regarding the gravity of the Khilafat question and should, we might expect be unanimously against participation. There is however a strange exception and for once at least the Anglo-Indian papers have found an occasion on which to authorize the suggestion of a prominent Indian paper. The high place which the *Leader* occupies in the Indian Press compels us to examine its position at some length. We understand and appreciate the *Leader's* appeal for clear thinking in the country and address to the people that they should not follow Mr. Gandhi blindly. Perhaps we can find more strongly than Mr. Gandhi that he should not be followed blindly. Let then, the people judge and decide for themselves. His warning, however, that his own paper while urging the need for clear thinking should try to mislead people by raising irrelevant issues. One has only to exert his imagination a little<sup>1</sup> to say, "to reason when the plight of the British Empire and along with it of India which is a part of it would have been if Germany had won" is none in the opinion that there is every reason for thankfulness and congratulations that the growing victory has been achieved." Why, one has not to invent any reasons, one shall find that the Peace and Peace with Victory has been a blessing of the All-mighty Providence to whom every one has to be thankful. Even Lord Morley who was opposed to the idea of war and who should be condemned in the result must be feeling thankful that the British nation is free from the agonies of a world war. There must be many in England whom all that has followed Peace must not have satisfied, and still they must also be feeling thankful. But however some of them will yet drink out the sentiment that the Peace has brought with it. It is stupid to argue that because they refuse there to get drunk, they desire that the war should

India wants to grow, argues the Leader. India wants to prosper and live within the British Empire. We completely agree. Yet, but she does not want to do so by unthinkingly accepting to a set of wrong or by passively submitting her feelings of nature, resentment. It would all become too good if it would all happen the Empire. India we want to do so. She must show the world that the only valid negotiating system for her is to refuse to participate in collaboration.

The third argument of it may be called an argument as to that the people should not follow Mr. Gandhi not because his advice is unwise but because by so doing they would encourage him in what is supposed to be a sort of dangerous career. It thus expresses the fright. Mr. Gandhi has estimated his passing patriotic movement as very solidly against from domestic politics to international efforts and now the people are called upon to criticize it as an imperial function also. They must cry a halt there. We may worry to see that the truth has dawned on the English as late. Mr. Gandhi of course has never dignified his goal. He is convinced that without Satyagraha in all affairs—domestic, national, international or imperial—there will be no real peace. But at any rate India will not be free and peaceful unless she adopts and practices Satyagraha. He has never pretended to be a politician or a statesman. He is therefore much not hesitant to say possessed with an idea, it can go far and fast others as real questions is resolved and the faith that it will be reached keeps him up. But the state of Satyagraha has drawn the paper into statements which of otherwise might not make. It explains. A widespread spirit of protest has been raised which he, Mr. Gandhi is satisfying in various ways. We ask our contemporary to pause and consider of the statement is justified that 'it can only proceed from one who has chosen to understand Mr. Gandhi. But we shall not quarrel with the journal's views about Mr. Gandhi. We may only remind it, if that can lift the cause, that the suggestion of non-participation is not one of positive resistance or Satyagraha, such as the *Fourth of April* observance was, not passive resistance or Satyagraha. Non-participation is only the expression of the public consciousness that the country has been wronged. Participation in the Celebrations with the consciousness of the national wrong is nothing short of positive demonstration—a thing which was before a self-sacrificing country.

# THE PARANAYAN'S CASE

The following petition has been submitted to H. H. Mr. Thacker by Miss Shylo de-Silva of the Parayan, a prisoner in Port Blair, Andaman, undergoing the conventional imprisonment for life in connection with the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1912—

1. That Your Excellency's humble petitioner's husband, Miss Parayan, was arrested and committed to the prison custody of the law with forfeiture of property on the 14th September, 1912 by a majority of the Special Commisariat appointed under Act IV of 1912 and consisting of Major (now Lieutenant Colonel) A. A. Brown, Mr. T. F. Miles, L. G. B. and Mr. Richard Francis Shaw Brown, Advocates, on charges under sections 121 (abetment of waging war) 121 A & 121 B, T. F. G., but the sentence was subsequently commuted on the recommendation of one of the Commisariats to transportation for life plus forfeit sure of property.

2. That on the petition to Your Excellency for the prisoner's release on the prosecution of money, on the representation of Mr. George Mayne the King's Counsel, it is the first intention of Your Excellency's humble petitioner to demand the return of her husband's case and upon the findings of the learned Commisariats. And if judgment is obliged to refer to them, it is because she strongly feels that her husband's conviction was due to a gross misapprehension of the real facts of the case, and was not in any way supported by the evidence produced against him.

3. That your Excellency's humble petitioner is by no means dead in her belief that the evidence against her husband was insufficient for conviction. She has during support on her side in the attitude and actions of the Government Advocate, Mr. C. Brown, Petitioner (now deceased) in the Bench of the High Court of Andaman at Port Blair, who was prosecuting the case for Government. After having, over through the volunteer's relations put on by the prosecuting officers, Mr. Petitioner recommended to the Parayan Government the withdrawal of the charge against Your Excellency's petitioner's husband because of the absence of convincing proofs against him, but in that the Parayan Government did not agree. That even then the Government Advocate was far from being satisfied as to the complexity of your petitioner's husband in the conspiracy as far as he had coming up of the case made a significant remark in the following effect: "If we could have conviction of any of them," he said, "we could have done so against Miss Parayan, whom we all always regarded and even that sentence is given. But all that the principal appears my about her conviction is that she had no knowledge of the conspiracy."

4. That Your Excellency's humble petitioner begs respectfully to point out that the learned Commisariats, while having charge against all the rest of the accused delay of the finding of a charge against the petitioner's husband all they would again after an adjournment of two months. And Your Excellency's petitioner desires to submit that she is not far wrong in thinking that the reason of this delay on the part of the learned Commisariats is in her belief on the fact that the evidence against her husband, as the learned Commisariats themselves admit in their own part of the judgment, amounted largely of the uncorroborated and conflicting evidence of only one (Nawab Khan) out of a number of approvers,

which was rendered admissible under section 16 of the Evidence Act, and of numerous and important facts disclosed.

5. That while on the question of the evidence of approvers, Your Excellency's humble petitioner would like to refer Your Excellency to the findings of the learned Commisariats on this point, beginning from the recorded observations of her husband by the approvers and others. The learned Commisariats observe—

"In view that the accused (petitioner's husband) was identified by approvers Anwar Singh and Mohd. Singh, and P. W. 12, the Police spy, who stated that he knew accused, but does nothing about him in connection with the present case. By P. W. 21, by P. W. 27 (who only stated—'This appears to be the man'), and by approver Nawab Khan, who stated that he had seen him but did not know his name."

Learning under the statement of Anwar Singh (P. W. 21), the police spy who attempted to gain the confidence of the revolutionary gang and became associated with the latter in everything they said or did, but who still "appears nothing about the petitioner's husband in connection with the conspiracy case," we have the evidence of the approvers, Anwar Singh, Mohd. Singh and Nawab Khan, and P. W. 27 and 28.

Approximate Anwar Singh—Anwar Singh and Mohd. Singh were among the leaders of the conspiracy and were arrested persons, on becoming approvers. What they say as to petitioner's husband can be thus summed up. Anwar Singh says that in May 1912, the petitioner's husband came joined Harpal, described as the first conspirator, to St. John (New), where after spending two days and a night he left for New York to reside in London, the approver admits that he knows the details of which are given in part III A of the judgment was delivered at St. John by Harpal or other approver during petitioner's imprisonment there. It is not even mentioned, approver Anwar Singh whom (petitioner's petitioner explains) that the petitioner's husband was in possession of a ticket for New York when he went to St. John with Harpal, that he never had any correspondence with him, that he never saw him in any of the hotel houses in Lahore or Amritsar (discussed in Part III C, 1 of the judgment), that no correspondence with petitioner's husband took place while the approver was on the staff of the "Globe" Press.

Approximate Mohd. Singh—The identification of the petitioner's husband in the Lahore Criminal Jail, by Mohd. Singh approver was the first testimony. Major Ward (P. W. 21), learned leaders of Lahore Criminal Jail, says that Mohd. Singh proved the petitioner's husband, but, on further suggestion that Mohd. Singh went down the whole line before returning and then identified the petitioner's husband on the second passing. Major Ward did not make any prompting, but he admits that the petitioner's husband began to talk about it and to suggest that some kind of hint was given to the approver. But even with this fact, what about it, Mohd. Singh "cannot say whether Miss Parayan was a conspirator of one party. I did not mention our names to her. This approver has also stated in the judgment says, that no reference was made to the petitioner's husband at the evening, at St. John's House (the abiding with conspirator's house) on February 12th, 1912, when the 31st February was fixed for a trial.

[illegible]

**Agavees—James Elmer Barnes**—It may not be, but Elmer Barnes's performance certainly is, as you, an official has to mention some of the things learned by his agavees. (1) That Elmer Elmer is May, 1918, was the problem's hardest 100 dollars of the millionaires for his passage agavees and work in 1918. James Elmer agavees has (we have seen) stated that the problem's hardest left the Elmer's after a day and night's stay at St. John's.

[illegible]

Further, this French Khan, apparently, says that he was urged by Kasper Hagh to visit the postmaster's husband and get maps of the Pough and were visiting implements! and he also states that the second Nard Hagh is the information on February 1919, told him that the 10,000, the proceeds of Chukla mining, had been sent to the postmaster's husband, and also that of the Landerl mining of November 17th, 1918. Fred Hagh told him (French Khan) that the postmaster's husband had undertaken to do great work, and that he then played the part of what has been described as a First Officer named Fred First III of the postmaster, through whom the shareholders of different members of the party, which were on a scale not fully known to all the others, could be known when an occasion it was desired to get into touch with each other. At this time, French Khan's postmaster corresponded, evidently, to work and facilitate connection. As your postmaster's husband has pointed out in his statement before the board of Commissioners and on the 20th of 1919, I have assumed, however, the postmaster of which is fully accepted by the board of Commissioners, supply four out, from December 1918, all continued to be continued in postmaster's husband began to reach him 2 or 3 days late marked "Passed by the Carrier," and he is not alleged that any shareable accounts down was more than 4 additional or traced to the postmaster's husband. It is also alleged that although the postmaster's husband lived in Lakota nearly a year and a quarter after his return from Hong Kong (Hagh tell his account on 12th February, 1919, he never attended any conspirator's meeting and to view of the above circumstances, the suggestion that Kasper Hagh told French Khan apparently to visit the postmaster and get maps of the Pough and visiting implements is pure nonsense. To show some category of future history. On further story which Nard Hagh is said to have told this appears that the 10,000, the proceeds of the Chukla mining were described with the postmaster's husband.







# YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

Revised by J. E. SANDERS<sup>1</sup>

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| <p>New Series }<br/>Vol. I. No. 17 }</p>   | <p>ANNUAL, WEEKLY, FORTNIGHTLY, AND MONTHLY.</p> | <p>Price One Anna<br/>Per Copy.</p>   |
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| <p>Topic.</p>  | <p>Page.</p>                                     | <p>and figures out the same. They say that instead of<br/>old men and women living a life of cramped beggary<br/>here, that we must reform. It is sufficient for us to<br/>know that Laís Lagotera wishes to live as fully free<br/>for his country and that he is striving in his<br/>efforts to uplift his countrymen. We would suggest to<br/>him that the selection of India is not a copying of<br/>what has been undertaken by the genius of our own<br/>nation and adapting it to the present day needs.</p> |
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Wang, Y. and J. Wang, 2005, 'The Effect of the 2004 Tsunami on the Japanese Economy', *Journal of International Trade and Finance* 26: 1-14.

Lake Lejair's views.—We need hardly say that we do not agree with all the opinions expressed by Lake Lejair in his letter. For instance his general opinion about nations with Imperial ambitions is disappointing. We are not shocked by self-interest, England is a champion of freedom and democracy. We do not believe that the Socialists or the Labourites will give more than the liberals of their particular interest clash with the young. The lesson that we need to lay down on party. We have to prepare ourselves for what we want. Equality cannot be given to us. We must give it. Nor can we subscribe to the doctrine that the law will not perhaps allow the whole truth to be told. So long as we refuse to stand of the law even to prevent our telling the whole truth, so long will the law remain bad and we will it. We shall never realize the national status unless we are prepared to put of the law to speak out our mind. It is in the history every nation, it cannot be different with us. If it is complete separation we want, we must demand it at any price. In the plan we have mentioned to suppress from now on, then there is no need for complete separation, to realize our Indian destiny. There is room here in the British constitution. But that constitution being supremely human and practical provides the perfect freedom as well as the state politically and economically. Canada can enjoy the Union with and will enjoy all the privileges of an independent nation.

and Fyfe's own, the same thing can be understood and women living a life of sexual aggression. But we must believe it is sufficient for us to know that Luis Lapuerta shares brotherly love for his country and that he is striving to help America to uplift her citizens. We would suggest to him that the inclusion of Uncle Iwan is copying the West but misunderstanding the genius of our society, and violation of its the highest standards.

**The Review of Sentences.**—Mr. Hastings' statement in reply to Colonel Wedgwood did not seem to be proposed to do any thing further than to lay before the members of the House the facts which the House would be enabled by the House Committee which would examine them to do as they pleased. It will help to dispel some of the vagueness that has been talked about in regard to the matter, since the House Committee has now the opportunity of the last session of the Council to question about the wisdom of it. It was inquired and was peremptorily asked by the President of the Council to mention all accounts in the matter. It is clear that the Executive Body will be impressed with their work, unless they are not forced by the House Committee who only will be enabled to do the work as they see fit. Shall we, again, whether these members will be the members of the House only or will they include those, as the House Law Committee do? But probably this question will come up in some way in the House. The Government has performed to keep the public in the dark as long. We shall not be so successful as we are, that the only appearance of the House in the future will be a House in the House, the House.

Moreover, the Kantian Community will decide whether it is not to recommend the rest of the community in the problem led by the official nature. Third, the decision is made in their forum, and the Kantian judges and themselves are also the ones created and will have to continue to exchange what suffering requires of the fact that they were ministered in many instances, by judges who refused to admit or consider all evidence and what would fit the goals on them, no matter whether it was inspired by hatred or false testimony. This is a case of things which the public cannot be expected to do, a subversion of

**The Ways of The Police—The Judgment** in the Bhambhani Police Charge Hearing Case delivered by the First Special Tribunal, Ahmedabad has come in as a disaster to the crying police officers in the case. The President Mr. Vernon observed:—“It is perfectly clear on the most honest view either that the majority of the witnesses have been tortured or that they are false witnesses whose evidence was accepted without any proper scrutiny of the investigating officer.” Rao Bahadur Bhalabhai observed: The investigation of this case does not credit to the police officers concerned. It is a matter of great regret that on each tortured witness and got up evidence 12 witnesses should have been accepted and kept in custody for a period of 7 months. Four out of these 48 witnesses who should have presented applications for bail in June and July last, but they were opposed by the prosecution, as no such witnesses from the police.”

Thus a list out of the numerous instances of “tortured and false witnesses.” Here were 12 innocent men who were made to suffer for seven months, but who by no superior Tribunal have at last been discharged. But what of the hundreds who are rotting in the Punjab jails for whose money not only the evidence of tortured and false witnesses is responsible, but the direct encouragement by the trying judges of the verdicts of the police by the suppression and exclusion of evidence?

**Worse than Ordinary Criminals**—These we would set on the subject of the refusal to lead evidence before the Hunter Committee by the Congress has forwarded a famous statement has been issued by the Hon. Pandit Madhava which is a sufficient answer to those who have been writhing at the Sub-Committee's decision. If they are unconvinced of the Sub-Committee's desire to hasten the inquiry, it would be wise to try to convince them by more. The only thing that is apparent to be clear from the statement, and the correspondence they has passed between the Government and the Sub-Committee and Mr. Gandhi, is that the best thing the Sub-Committee can be advised of is an uncompromising attitude. It will be noticed that they were demanding the temporary release of the leaders. They were told that no leaders could be released on parole for the day or days they might actually be giving evidence. Taking the latter statement in principle, they expected their willingness to be satisfied even if the leaders were permitted to attend the Committee sittings or presence in custody, to instruct counsel in evidence which concerned them and which were within their knowledge. Even this was refused. Meanwhile the examination of official witnesses by the Committee continues and they are allowed to gain all sorts of experience on the unrepresented leaders obviously behind their back. This is a position which can be tolerated neither by the Sub-Committee, nor may be tolerated by the Hunter Committee, if we believe, it is an important body bent on a thorough investigation of all matters.

We feel to see how Government cannot understand what should be in demand to them that all these witnesses especially the one of allowing the presence to attend the Committee sittings on parole on the day or days on which they are examined which is a concession in principle are refused absolutely arbitrary.

The procedure they have adopted is indeed opposed to all notions of justice. It may not be out of place here to draw the Government's attention to a South African example. General Smuts, when the Indian community refused to lead evidence before the Robben Commission, agreed not to lead evidence of a negative character on the question of the Indian community's allegations as to ill treatment, and thus succeeded in forcing what he himself described as “an opportunity to lead shattering evidence in vindication of the conduct of the Government's Officers.” It should be a point of honour with the Punjab Government, likewise not to lead any evidence—and it is all regarding evidence that they are leading—when its evidence is led before the Committee by the Congress Sub-Committee. They are, however, not only leading shattering evidence, but allowing their officers to make counter allegations to which those concerned are not to be allowed to answer. A more shocking scenario can hardly be conceived.

It is rendered still more shocking by Mr. Hastings's explanatory statement that the business of the Hunter Committee will be also “to recommend that the witnesses be recovered custody.” Now, we ask, will it be possible for the Committee to decide whether to recommend or not the recovery of witnesses from the incomplete data before them? And if they did so, nothing could be more unfair to the prisoners, nothing would be so obviously effective to frustrate the purpose for which the Committee is appointed.

## CONFUSION

### HINDUS AND THE KHILAFAT QUESTION.

Mohamed Akbar Bhabhai writes as follows in a letter to Mr. Gandhi regarding the Khilafat question—

Thanks are due to your kind special attention in bringing the names of the ghazir day and the Hindu Muslim Unity. Your article has deeply affected the Mussalmans in general and college students among them in particular. A group of Thanees has written me specially to pay you their homage. One of them is Mohiuddin Saadulla Balich of Poindree, who has written to me that they have determined not to march even in India and that they have refused the witness also. I hope that if persons like you understand the truth of the faith and of the Unity motto, the country will soon flourish and all dependent problems will be solved.

## LALA LAJPATRAI'S VIEWS.

The following is the remaining portion of Lala Lajpatrai's letter to Mr. Gandhi:—

Thanks for your letter acknowledging mine. I beg to apologise for having omitted to sign it. It was a pure oversight as you truly observe. As demanded by you I have great pleasure in stating my views on the situation in India at some length. I will not enter into a discussion and will just content myself with a short statement of my views.

(1) No nation which has Imperial ambitions and the power to satisfy it, can be said to have any sense of justice or not, be educated as a champion of freedom and democracy. The two things are incompatible. You say, if you like, submit the people thereof to your power, strength, domination as subjects, vassals, etc., but when you submit them for their 'sense of justice' or for their 'love of freedom', you say what is not true, never mind whether you do it consciously, for the sake of expediency, or unconsciously out of habit. In my judgment the Indian leaders, who constantly harp on the British sense of justice, and of the British love of freedom for all peoples, mislead their people and thereby cause a great deal of harm to the cause of political progress in our country. Instead of making the people realise the situation as it is, and letting them adopt themselves to it for the purposes of progress, on right lines they serve the situation with a lot of sentiment and thereby do positive harm to the cause of their country. British Imperialism was selfish and intolerant as any Imperialism in the history of the world ever was or could be. We may appeal to the British in the name of justice, if we wish, but we should not believe under any circumstances that British 'justice' is any way better than any other Imperial 'justice'. In the history of the British Empire 'justice' was never done to the cause of any dependency or colony, except under extreme pressure and for selfish reasons. Even in the case of South Africa it was more enlightened in treatment than pure unadorned love of justice that led the Henry Campbell-Bannerman to grant them Dominion status.

(2) I believe that comparatively speaking there are larger percentages of free and honest Internationalists in Great Britain than in any other country in the world except perhaps in Russia and the United States. These English Internationalists do sincerely believe in justice and liberty for all people. But they are in a logical minority, and consequently their influence on British statesmanship is extremely limited.

(3) The only chance in Great Britain to whom it is any use appealing for International justice are the radicals or the Labour. The Liberal party contains some very fine souls but the bulk of them are such

Imperialists and their Imperialism is, in my judgment, more harmful to the world of dependencies than that of the Tories. The Tories have little recourse to sentiment. They are broadly frank, blunt, and outspoken in their aims and policies. A voter and a safe head of Liberalism is a positive danger to a nation striving for freedom. What the latter needs is the truth, so that she may know what to do. In their domestic policy the Tories are more honest than the Liberals. Both are devoted Imperialists; but the Tories make no pretence of their love of democracy in the abroad. The Liberals tell a great deal of 'truth and democracy and liberty', but when the time for action comes, they act as no wiser than the Tories.

(4) I think that the Indian leaders should tell their people the truth and nothing but the truth. The law will not perhaps allow of the subject with being told. The people ought to know that it is foolish for them to appeal to the Liberals, that the Liberals will do nothing for them and to take shelter under the hypocritical utterances of our old leaders about the 'British sense of justice' and the British 'love of freedom' etc. is just deceiving them worse.

There is little justice even in Great Britain. Whenever there is a clash of interests, the ruling classes treat their poor competitors as ruthlessly as they do in India. In England the poor classes have, by the power of vote and by organized action, some say and political, succeeded in halting their oppression. Their appeals to the sense of justice of the ruling classes are as fruitless as ever are and will be. Whenever they have gained they have won by the mere force of organized action. If the Indians want to get their rights they have just to be conscious of their rights and organize. They will never get anything by appealing to the British sense of justice. They must use all the weapons that the governed classes in America and in Great Britain have used and are using for achieving the purpose. In these countries the bulk of the population is opposed to the use of violence or force, not on ethical grounds or such as is practiced. It is considered unwise and dangerous living in constant violence, or to try to be free against organized governmental force. With such countries where every one is keen to keep and improve the use of force as it is even more so in India. Hence while the policy of using violence or force to end the British rule in India is foolish, Indian people themselves do nothing their country and of advancing the cause of freedom must learn to control their temper, I think that at times it is very difficult to do so, and hence necessary to take things lying down, but then the matter should be found in other ways. I am not in favour of taking revenge, retaliation or retaliation, as a spirit of weak submission, but I am strongly in favour of the policy of force in the national purpose. I have nothing to add to what I have already said in my previous letter about terrorism and violent resistance.

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*Young India.*

*Alameda, Wednesday, 24th November, 1913.*

## CONSIDERING WATTS BY LOVE

—\*—\*—

He took a long left for South Africa to add to the many messages he wanted to India and he has left to us a brief speech of matchless beauty for us all to ponder over and act upon. The speech was delivered by him in answer to the farewell speeches made at the Durban High School of London on the eve of his departure for South Africa.

To understand the speech we must know the speaker. He has spoken through his heart. He has given a message of hope and comfort. He speaks to us as one who has felt the sorrows of his deep affliction. He speaks to those whom he has listened to help. He was provoked by a Government that had become mean for the moment, he returned as soon as ever he could and worked tirelessly in that night and in so doing he suffered much perhaps from his own sympathy. Those for whom he laboured did not fully realise the nature of his work.

Mr. Andrews has spoken in measured and deliberate language of the Johannesburg High Mission. He has kissed it in the Orange Mission, He feels as we do for the sufferers and has done much more than most of us have done and would care to do. Perhaps of his side has been "a very truth, a great promise, a statement, an act of separation for my countrymen." If he has listened to himself completely within it must be because he has learned to be an Englishman or because he feels for the English. Indeed he believes he is more truly English because of his becoming identified with us.

And if he feels even as we do, then he also feels Englishness as some of us undoubtedly do. He has pointed to those of us who take a wrong path. By his very life he says to us, "Compare with by love." He says by his action, "You may speak of English officers' death as an strong language as I do but you will not compare them by your love." It is easy to say, "No more love after the American Mission." He Andrews says we shall see if we take the seemingly easy path. They died, and we buried their bodies and marked some of them. It was easy, it was simple. But if we had if we could have understood our anger, if we had not restrained them, the very thing upon we would have returned stood upon them and the hatred would have then upon itself. They forgot us again. They forgot more and— The gift was certainly an act of loving.

How we then forget Johannesburg High? Never. But we must not harbour revenge, neither must we be moved down. It is clear a better other feelings there may be the effect of the same effect. Consider that the Mission was a brutal and barbarous act of revenge intended to show us down. If we refuse to be moved down, there will be a reputation of Johannesburg High. And the way not to be moved down is either to be in, that is out of our strength to London to resist. What is that strength? It is the ability to undergo voluntary suffering. When then killed, their present, their baggage and their gallies do not frighten us, then we will have peace.

John Douglas we heard his promotion that he would not have then, neither would he return to their school of office. He, therefore, refused in his suffering in his prison. Therefore, would not return to his husband's house unless he had been and therefore suffered at his hands. He had received his father's command and fully knew the promotion through which he had to go. The voluntary bearing of suffering requires relatively more courage than going down for love.

If we would honour Mr. Andrews, we would refuse merely to appropriate his services, which we are not allowed by the laws they teach. Such appropriation would be parasitic. We may not love Mr. Andrews and not love Englishmen. The only recognition acceptable to him was a statement, a decided effort on our part not to let his countrymen if only for his sake.

The Englishman easily understands Mr. Andrews' message. The English are physically the lowest among Indians. They, therefore, are the first to learn to love. Geographically they stand at the top. Why they stand at the top morally also, and learn from such a person the power of love.

## INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE AND THE AMERIKAN MILL HANDS

In these days of general weakening amongst the labouring classes, the questionnaire by the International Labour Conference should receive prominent welcome at the hands of all well-wishers of the working men. The questions though offering only a few matters of first-class importance, and a proper dressing thereof would lead to a speedy improvement in the labour conditions of labour in this country. In order, however, to arrive at such a decision local conditions in different industries must be carefully investigated and experiments be made to see what criterion could be introduced without seriously hurting the industries. This position might appear slow and boring, but a consideration in form of not only of the fact that our trades and industries are not left without any state help or protection is certainly necessary, but also of the fact that they are exposed to a competition and even rather competition with the more advanced countries. With this view an attempt is here made to indicate the conditions of millhands in America and in reference to the advisability of the questions is discussed above and suggest such reforms as are immediately needed.

### STATE OF EMPLOYMENT

The most important question raised by the Conference is in respect of the hours of employment. The Conference appears to be desirous of giving an eight hours' day accepted as a system. Much as one may share the desire of the Conference, it does not appear to be within the range of practicability in view of the conditions that obtain here. The present Factory Act places the following restrictions on the employment of such labour—

1. No person shall be employed for more than twelve hours in any one day.
2. No person shall be employed before 5-30 A.M. or after 7 P. M., unless he is employed in a system of shifts approved by the Inspector.
3. There shall be after each six hours of work a stoppage of at least one hour during which all work shall be discontinued except by persons employed in a system of shifts approved by the Inspector.
4. No person shall be employed in any factory on a Sunday unless he has had or will have a holiday on one of the three days immediately preceding or succeeding the Sunday.

It must be at once admitted that these restrictions though imposed on the interests of labour are in no way adequate. A twelve hours' day must certainly be considered a great hardship. It is bound to interfere with the constitution of working men, particularly as in the case of the city labour of the last generation and the very long conditions of work on the mills are greater of late even the well-built workmen complain that he is completely exhausted after a full

day's work, and that he is left utterly incapacitated thereafter for any domestic duties, or giving a single hour to a night school. In any case it is evident that a long day's work must have little time or energy for such work, and if we really desire the maintenance of the conditions of working classes their hours of employment must be substantially reduced. In these days, however, it is hardly necessary to elaborate this argument, for not only the intelligent public but even the mill operators are favourably inclined, and the question only remains as to whether the reduction could be effected without injuring the industry. There is no doubt that the change would diminish production, but this decrease, we are told, should not necessarily be proportional to the reduction of hours. Even to-day a very serious economic knowledge that although the millhands are supposed to be at work for twelve hours the production is roughly equal to only about seven hours' work. This is due to the fact that the workman has to leave his work now and then and come out for rest as it is physically impossible for him to work all the time he is kept in. In these circumstances if the hours are reduced to ten it might be expected that the millhands will be able to work more steadily and keep the production from being substantially diminished. This view is held by several liberal minded agents who have been making experiments in this direction. If with the intelligent co-operation of the workmen these experiments could be made successful, we have no doubt that the better class of mills would reflect themselves to ten hours' work and the law would then merely follow the practice and not enforce it, as it otherwise must, both in the interests of the working classes as well as of the industry. As for an eight hours' day it is, as we have already said, a difficult proposition and cannot be accepted at this stage without hurting the industry. In fact, however, the ten hours' practice gives better results if the mills could be reduced to give better raw materials and improved conditions of work, and if at the same time the millhands could be made to make the necessity of steady and continuous work on their own materials, eight hours' day would no longer remain an impracticable proposition.

There seems any not appear very liberal, but it is not possible to go any further without being told of themselves. If any more things and get on that which needs to be worked by all, that the mills are not wholly satisfied even with a twelve hours' day. This might be seen from the fact that despite of continuous stoppages they keep on working overtime against the provisions of the Factory Act. Only during the last three months about half a dozen of them were found working at night and were heavily fined, the aggregate amount of fine totalling over Rs. 15000/- How difficult the situation is will be noticed from the remarks made by Mr. Haigh, Acting Collector of Pimpri in the Factory Report of 1918. He says,

There can be no doubt that in several instances mills have been deliberately worked overtime as these responsible considered that the profit far exceeds

and the mills to a loss. These are very hard remarks and if true must fill us with shame. We would urge the mill owners to have a little consideration for the human aspect. They are expending and refusing to employ at a wage which threatens to very serious.

There must remain another matter which though concerning a limited number of men is of importance in maintaining the moral relations between the workers and the workmen. We refer to the condition of the men employed in the engineering department, particularly the fitters. In the case of these men the mills are exempted from the restrictions of the Factory Act mentioned above. That is no doubt most not necessary and no provision is made of it, but that does not save the mischievous system, that has come into existence because of it from the consideration. Under this system they have to begin work at 7.30 A. M.—the fitters at 4 A. M.—and they leave at about 7-30 P. M. which means for the fitters a full fifteen-hour day! Apart from this, these men absolutely get no holidays—not even one in a month—as they are required to attend on Sundays and holidays to clean the machinery etc. Over and above this an additional hardship is inflicted on the fitters, who are amongst the hardest worked men in the mills viz. night-duty. When there are two or three fitters they have each to take up night-duty for a week or a month by turn. Now a system that requires a man to stay away from his family for night-duty after a hard day's labour without even a day of rest throughout the week cannot be too severely condemned. We have been told that the men have frequently begged for relief but to no purpose. That is all the more reason the relief asked for should be heavy expenditure. All that is needed is to keep separate fitters for night-duty and other fitters for day work so that the fitters and their assistants could all be given a day off in a week by turn.<sup>1</sup>

#### EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN

Another important question raised by the Conference is about the employment of women. The Factory Act has already restricted their hours to eleven but considering their household and other duties it should be further reduced to eight when a general ten-hour day is introduced. This reform will, however, come to nothing if not accompanied by provision for efficient supervision, for we are sorry to say that the present restrictions are "loosened" more in the breach than in the observance.

Regarding the prohibition of night work by women proposed by the Women Committee the

question is not of untold importance as the mills have generally do not work at night. But at times when the mills take to working at night disregarding the provisions of the Factory Act women have been found at work in the packing department. The mills are heavily fined if found guilty of these offences, but the mills are not deterred by the penalty.<sup>2</sup>

The suggestion made by the Conference for the restriction of employment of women after child birth, is important and we think that the government should prohibit such women from being allowed to work for three weeks after their delivery. This would mean to the labourer's loss of a month's wages, but in the interests of the future generation as well as of the women health the restriction must be imposed. If however at the same time relief would be given to them through schemes of maternity benefit there will not be much cause for complaint.

#### CHILD LABOUR

The Factory Act has prohibited the employment of children under one but the system requires to be revised if considerations of their health and education are to prevail. As far half-timers the upper age limit should be raised to fifteen; a only child or below one eleven and fifteen be permitted to work as half-timers. It is, however, difficult to say how far these restrictions can be enforced or abolished for it is a matter of common knowledge that even the present restrictions are unenforced. In this connection the following statement appearing in the Factory Report of 1914 will hardly go far then way: "There appears to be little doubt that a good many children continued as half-timers really do a full day's work. It seems probable that there are a good many more children practising than there are children employed and this somewhat reckless mode of child gets two certificates under different names enabling him to work at one mill for half the day and at another mill for the other half." Various schemes of adding further measures have been laid children work continue against the law, and the above mentioned shift of double certificates makes enforcement difficult. In these circumstances more vigilance should be brought to bear on the persons or as to enforce them not to run their children's health by overworking them. From the considerations above presented it would be clear that to a certain extent reform along the line suggested by the conference of the Conference are not only necessary but feasible and without it desirable that the representative themselves effect them in consultation with the millowners.

J. S. Sankar.

<sup>1</sup> In this connection we must mention that a few better class of mills keep a separate fitter for night work and in case one man has to attend both day and night he is provided with accommodation at the mills where he would stay with his family.

<sup>2</sup> A mill was fined Rs. 2000 for employing women at night in the packing department three months ago.

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes a woman was fined Rs. 2000 and another Rs. 1000 for working half-timers for the whole day.







# YOUNG INDIA

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[illegible]

Supplied information of the best western I have had the privilege of meeting. I come to know him through correspondence immediately to me arrived in India in 1933. The manner that gave rise to the correspondence showed the type man in Durgada. He has been a missionary, a businessman and modern worker in India for many years. He has now gone to get for one year with his family. I have been asked to give my opinion on the judgment of the appellate Court. In my humble opinion the judgment is incorrect. The Court has acted on the basis that "Dowry Caste" was a common Indian caste but ignored the real purpose of the caste to remove a burden against Durgada. And in giving the opinion I said and I may be biased in favor of Durgada. I do not believe India is capable of taking an action on paper to avoid an improvement. The answer, my Beloved, comes my shared interest in the question.

But as a journalist at *Shayegani*, I must be sensitive with respect to the family and its members. *Shayegani* has the great advantage of taking the *Shayegani* pledge. And I sense the opportunity offered by the use of phony letters like reader say more about such cases. We spend too much money in litigation and newspaper. We have no strategic development of phony. I have not a shadow of doubt that money will be much cleaner and healthier if there was less money in lawsuits like this. The risk that the best would be made. And, it is understandable when a newspaper is in public expense. But it is useful when a newspaper spends money after the best legal advice or other means. I was therefore more, since I heard

appeals in the "New Deal" era. It was his persistence in efforts to end child graft and curb the power of the trusts that won him the respect of the public. It is his role and his moral courage, unimpaired by time or disgrace, and it is his fully expressed belief in justice, that has the foundation of our life.

We in India, which we are looking upon as a country unchanged with respect to history and as the holder of a secret police department secreted, perhaps in the world, for its deeply and permanently hidden, must not continue to the goal. We have used the word that department and cannot defend

The best and quickest way to differentiate from the industrial and service policy departments is to read the country of labor law and effectiveness. But tell them for off day across the handful of Sanyuanzhen, most in southern to land. The business their second home.

I hope therefore that the friends of Douglas will not advise him or his wife to position her money against the Indian stipendiary by manufacturing with her. On the contrary it is our duty to aid her to stand her heart, and feel glad that her husband is so glad to see light of her eye. The best course that we can advise to Douglas would be to tell Mrs. Douglas to send another pennyworth of silver up, as they will. I understand that the New England have not come to 1850. The money will certainly have been added to better purpose. It is not right to suppose ourselves by buying up silver, to be finally, useful to the country in view of the result of national banks that would be disastrous.

How can the People's End continue with vigour, hearts united and working together, over the improvement of those men whom they regard as enemies, I know it is hopeless. But it is so difficult to combat them. To give them this hope would be to aid them. To ask them publicly to undergo what means, in usual language, is useless. I can therefore only, by ignoring the selfish idea of making them so, be successful enough to make that we shall only pay tribute to political structures as long as we live and then will worry over the improvement of our own men. Problem to say I am not here thinking of improving the role of actual individuals, even as enemies.







The Government Daily marks an array of officers and clerks, keepers and judges who would be trained to keep on the winning of the administration is a long quest and serious work which the rulers are handling.

The English movement, and manufacturers would naturally wish the Indian adaptation to be of the Western type, which would automatically make India a critic of the ideas of English Indians and an unconscious patron of the English textile business.

There are a lot more things that people are concerned about. The university, it is for the British capital to try and extend the economic situation.

Students' self-perceptions and engagement, according to studies on stress, would not only be affected and hindered, but also increased for those

The 10-year parent and the grandson, with limited grammar and phrasal skills in the English classroom, are not, and are not to be, the same man; the boy of 10 years old is not, and is not to be, the boy of 16 years old; nor is he, or is the boy of 16 years, or a considerably later Christy, ever made large strides toward the goal of a 100 percent class challenge or the goal of a 100 percent level of achievement.

It is important to note that the opportunity of such a "free" trial is a thought-provoking one and is most likely to be perceived as a marketing tool to generate interest in the product rather than a genuine offer. The offer will be the least successful if the consumer has a strong and well-justified commitment to the product. The offer will be most successful if the consumer is not committed to the product and is looking for a new product to try.

All these were in the same old house, as Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote. Yet it is not enough to know that the English language was available in the country, for it is not the act of looking to the written word, from which all writing must be able to arise. The written word, such as the literary manuscript, is the most obvious manifestation of the creative human mind in the shape of Personal Language, when the Creative mind itself is the only University of its own making, beyond the boundaries of the human mind, which is itself a college in the University of Personal Language, until that the University itself gives the English to those who studied hardward after passing, as Erasmus the first was, the university of the Church, in which they had at least one year of study before passing on to the next type of thinking. The learned Erasmus would then be given the degree of the master of what offered to the two English students after leaving his learned house. Personal Language was not only in his language. It was in a world of different worlds, just as a particular culture has the same in ours.

The opposite side of the education of the Indian nation is a nation's story.

First in order of time came the egg containing a of the most-wild and talented offspring. Reckless spending became his sole source of his education. He has two eyes for facts. Intellectual without, emotional to the bone. He made his way out of an English education because that is a great destroyer of his creative capacity. The old and the new joined with all necessity in his part. He did not. He was not destroyed and he is not.

[illegible]

Next, even the Western biologist who regards life as the organization of a localized mechanism and must, but that it, also, continues to expand as more he discovers, more than the collection of the various and separate parts.

[illegible]

Amphibian and Reptile Conservation Society  
at the University of California, Los Angeles  
at the University of California, Los Angeles  
at the University of California, Los Angeles

The role of the Institute is to support China's economic development, to help the Chinese government and people to understand the West, and to help the West to understand China. The Institute's main activities are to publish books and journals, to hold seminars and conferences, and to provide information and advice to the Chinese government and people.

Last comes the third of Regional Elections, which has passed off quietly through the general election, the 19th; and the Congress is a fairly unexciting affair. There is no excitement by the Senate and Assembly, also the various reports are absolutely as unexciting as the other ones. For the first addition, Secretary Charles F. Smith, married one of the state's leading doctors of law on his arrival at the capital by those who married or chosen not to be married.

[illegible]

This solution is centered in the past. You get an eye for how things they are and survive with the message for the future. Welcome to the future museum a more detailed treatment of the island of National Museum.





times and the remedy is in your own hands. That remedy is by your moving of and on - by getting to make all your political moves. All you need to do is change the name under the influence of the masses you desire. Why do you not do this, single issue, in the case of housing here and abroad, and if it can be done in one country, why not in another country. Improved standards for you will promote industry and welfare, the highest standard of living in any way with your little bit of raw silk to go further than the other. Let us say, just in making the position of our Indian colonies more, more in your country than it is, so of improving your own situation. In the end, a matter is in you, completely but, really. (2 Nov. 1932)

## ALL-IRMS &amp; WHITE-STAR CONFERENCE

Mr. Corbitt presiding at the joint session of the All India Khilafat Conference addressed the audience in Urdu at which the following is a translation:—

"It might not be appear strange for Hindeo to be on the same platform as the Mahomedans in a matter that specially and solely affects the Mahomedans. After all, the loss of dominion in two countries is adversely and whatever was Sir, Hindeo, Feroze, Christians or Jews, if we wish to live in one nation, surely the interest of any of us must be the interest of all. The only dividing consideration can be the nature of a particular cause. The Feroze Minister of England and a whole host of distinguished ex-officials are witnesses to the justice of the Mahomed cause. The talk of the Hindu Mahomedans unity, It would be an empty phrase if the Hindeo held aloof from the Mahomedans when their vital interests were at stake. Some have suggested that as Hindeos are against the Mahomedans employment only as coolies. Confounded nonsense is his statement on issues which does not bind. There is question, therefore, is there is, help. The Khilafat Conference has come to the decision not to participate in the forthcoming peace conference. I think that is a proper decision. Peace conferences are being an amusing far India which a vital part of the peace affecting one-fourth of India's population remains unattended. Eight million of Mahomedans deeply interested in the peace have nothing affecting the Khilafat. It is improper to ask them to sign peace terms whilst the fate of the Khilafat hangs in the balance. To ask India to subscribe peace with the Khilafat question remains unsolved in his expending Great to subscribe peace pending the settlement of almost Ottoman. That Turkey is outside India does not affect the region. England is as much a Mahomedan and Hindu power as it is a Christian power and if India be a partner in the Empire then Mahomedan movement deserves as much standing as any other. It would, therefore, be the most amazing thing for her Hindeo the Turkey to postpone the peace conference pending a satisfactory settlement of the Khilafat question.

**TAKELISTEN AVAILABLE AT PHARMACIES**

It is a question which indeed affects the honored Republic—the pledged word of the Framers. What are riches, power, and military success worth if they become barren of life? I was, therefore, doubly moved

to see the telegraphic summary of the Prime Minister's speech which seemed unnecessarily to wound Marlon's sensibility and to forestall a settlement of the Gibraltar question in correspondence as has been almost word given with due deliberation and at a time when that word stands the Mahomedan levity and possibly emotional reaction among the various Mohammedans. I shall not hope that a two-frontier will prevail and peace done by the Mohammedans alone. Instead, however, the worst happen the Gibraltar Commission had right decided to advise Mohammedans to withdraw cooperation from the Government. I was privileged to be present at both the Subjects Committee and the general meeting. I take this liberty of warning the Government of the intensity of the reaction and the involvement of the masses. I know that withdrawal of cooperation is a grave thing and a long thing it requires ability to suffer. I have the that it is the right of nations to withdraw but cooperation from the men when that cooperation means his degradation. It is a tragedy. Some of showing one's displeasure at the acts of such Government.

**AUTHORS OF RECORD**

One may, therefore, hope that the Imperial Congress will recognize the gravity of the situation. But from one comparison to Imperial's demand from the nations to the nations.

The Commission took last night a decision by a majority of votes in favour of boycotts of the rich goods of the European countries was not substantially withheld. Import is a form of leverage and taking it the being able to help us to secure a just solution, we have to create a world opinion. I venture to suggest to my Mohammedan friends that they will not create a world opinion in their favour by prohibiting boycott of European goods for other goods and in practice it is bound to break down. Moreover, the suggested boycott is a combination of weakness. You want strength, not weakness, to be able successfully to deal with all the questions I, therefore, hope that the Khilafat Committee will initiate the steps and other means possible which would the boycott movement. In making this suggestion, however, pleasant and the most-effective to be made, I am not saying that there is no violence. Indeed, a violent speech is often an equivalent to a weak deed. And I am sure that you will not again pass that stage and return to our hands and our arms.

電話：06-1874-1111

It appears to me to summarize if perfectly suggested by some friends. It has been suggested that the French guarantee too is a good reason for withdrawing from the peace negotiations. I venture to differ from that view. It merely prevents the wrong done to the Poughs, it is after all a domestic affair and it would show on our part a want of sense of proportion so long as the French government is ready for our non-cooperation in the Imperial negotiations. The French guarantee does not arise out of the peace terms at all, the English question. To insist on this, the English question if we wish to give it the proper place and value. In my limited opinion it is not open to us to refuse to discuss the peace negotiations on grounds other than those that arise directly out of the peace and that touch the vital points of our national existence. The English question alone settles these



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From Guy Arna  
Per Conn.

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## Notes.

**Mr. Natarajan on Peace Celebrations**—This Mr. Natarajan in a note on the Khilafat Question and the Peace Celebrations. Many persons who have a narrow respect for Mr. Gandhi will, we think, be at a loss to follow his line of argument leading to the conclusion that because the question of the Khilafat has not been satisfactorily settled, therefore it is the duty of Indians, Muslims and Mahomedans to abstain from taking part in the Peace Celebrations next month. If the principle were to be carried to its logical length, public life would become impossible. Mr. Natarajan must indeed have a narrow definition of "public life," if he makes his statement making assumptions, in fact untrue, to govern by "public life" unquestioning co-operation with Government in any and every matter, but statements as opposed to all experience. Public life, as is commonly understood, should have long been extinct in the West, for the principle advocated by Mr. Natarajan is then "accursed to its logical length." The fact is a spirit of healthy protest underlying the principle, in the life of public life and the only circumstances which could make public life impossible in the estimation of that

spirit. It would appear that Mr. Natarajan himself misapprehends the truth of this as a former member when he displaced and protested against the straggling of the Bombay Congress because, besides other reasons, it did not occupy place in the public life of the city and country. We believe he would not have been mistaken, when he wrote that of the last that the most refreshing contribution of the journal to public life was the energetic promotion of movements which were informed by a healthy spirit of protest. We can think of no more solid contribution to the public life of the country, at the present moment, than a strenuous abstention from the Peace Celebrations.

Mr. Natarajan's book you has drawn him into making such narrow statements. We are to rejoice, he says, because the War is at an end and the reign of Peace has resumed its sway. If we are to rejoice simply for that reason, Germany should also hold a hearty national peace festival. But we know Mr. Natarajan does not mean that. For he himself also writes to us to rejoice because of "the victory which has been won by the British Empire," and we form an integral part thereof. But there lies the rub. We form an integral part of the Empire and yet the victory is for the Empire alone. The opponents of the Celebration are, in effect, charged by Mr. Natarajan with preferring continuance of War to the weakness of Peace. They do not prefer the continuance of War. Neither do they prefer a Peace proposal with the possibility of a more bitter War.

Mr. Natarajan is on slippery ground when he talks of some of the Muslim leaders not reporting the British Empire to achieve the responsible and time-recognising that the British Government has recently tried to be faithful to the Muslims. The Sir H. J. Amb. Allen's latest letter to the Times published in the daily press and the latest public statements of Mr. Jinnah and Spet House have given a clue to this. But we see that in a later note Mr. Natarajan apparently "disappointed" the views of the two last, though he quoted them at first, in support of his position.

In his recent note Mr. Natarajan advances a fresh consideration. We

Lloyd George has a Christmas party in England to commemorate with our Indian police in India, to glorify it? We should be last. But he is surely not bound to help a Christian police to suppress the efforts of a really effcient nation to maintain their independence, their national existence and their honour and honour. He may surely not encourage a Christian police in their sanguinism, and ask a Muslim police to give up a righteous cause.

Mr. Nehru was imprudent if we shamefully co-operate with the rank of the Empire in celebrating the Peace, the chance of a satisfactory settlement will be enhanced. There is just. His taking up to raise a public address and a statement to the American Viceroy who does not share his, is to stamp the stamp of a worse Governor on Viceroy Lord Lugard's hand. Who shall there a man for not being loyal when he is asked and does not feel so? Or will Mr. Nehru have an irresistible reason?

**The Punjab question and the Peace Celebrations.**—While the Indian Government would have Mr. Gandhi consider neither the Khilafat question nor the Punjab question as a legitimate ground for celebration, the Government of India has far considering the former only as a legitimate ground and not the latter too. This is because both the papers have raised the question whether the Punjab question or the Khilafat question does or does not arise out of the Peace Conference. The Khilafat question does and the Punjab question does not. There is no doubt, as the Government of India says, the Punjab has been the scene of barbarous massacre but you cannot say that at the door of the Peace Conference. They are not the cause of the Peace Conference, whereas the destruction of the Turkish Empire would mean, as the Indian Government has said, the ending by the Peace Conference the "work of unending bloodshed in the struggle for the emancipation of Islam." In the Khilafat question therefore we have a grievance against all the Allies, and we cannot co-operate with them if they choose to ignore without planning so. On the other hand of the Khilafat question, was equitably settled, we would all have reason to rejoice though our rejoicing may take a national character, simply because it is not good to military human nature to forget a private grief in a public rejoicing.

**The Khilafat Question and Boycott.**—The Government has attempted to explain the psychology of those who stood for boycott at the Khilafat Conference. It says that a man who is surprised with deep grief from his own situation and not such the door of his own to give vent to his grief, and hence the Muslim side is upon boycott as a last resort. It further says that the question would be better decided by the 30 years' world's war. But by a man like Mr. Gandhi who has been friends and has been. Now all this is kidding, even if you do not

Mr. Gandhi did not ask them to forget all difference between friends and foes. He of course pointed out to them that boycott was not the only weapon at their disposal, that there was another far more effective weapon, namely non-cooperation with Government, and that while the former being tainted with anger was an unrighteous weapon and a source of weakness, the latter was one based on righteousness and was demonstration of strength. He no doubt told them that what one can do is not always what one ought to do. But he also asked them to approach the question from the practical standpoint. He urged tolerance, patience and steadfast adherence to facts, which surely was not beyond the capacity of every mortal. He told them that boycott was in practice bound to fail. A corresponding point was to be the outcome of China which boycotted Japanese goods with the result that she is now more under the thumb of other foreign powers and paying dearly to India in the pure market. The British people who are, besides, a commercially minded race are open-handed to such goods to India through agency, say Japan. But it was not only imprudent to adopt boycott. Mr. Gandhi pointed out that it was imprudent. They were approaching the British police for sympathy and they could do so with the passing rod in their hands. "They would not make a world opinion." And lastly there was absolutely no reason why other nations should be preferred to the British nation. Would they prefer Japanese, Italian and American goods to British? It was going deeper into common legislation.

It will be noted that in favour of rejection of the boycott proposal Mr. Gandhi was not alone. There was the Hon. Mr. Bhaiji Saheb Ambedkar, Mr. and Mrs. Bhaiji Saheb Ambedkar who were listened to with very great pleasure. They presented a question the decision of which should not rest on a majority of votes, involving as it does common sense on the part of a whole community. The proposal should have been dropped in the Council of unanimity. We will hope the Khilafat Committee will release the days.

**Mrs. Sarojini Mukherjee's Letter.**—In the course of a letter to Mr. Gandhi, dated 10th November, Mrs. Mukherjee writes—

Last week there was another meeting about the Punjab. But it was more about the Punjab in England—no one cares anything about anything in India in England. The only situation for India lies within herself—and we all dream of the nation's life support help from without. Indeed for me do not want help from anywhere. We must work out our own salvation in our own way according to our own vision and mind. There is no place for foreigners in our country. Teachers of national more deeply and every hour. And the great world celebration has no place for us and we are all involved and able to make our special, inevitable contribution to the work of world-peaceful.

"It was a Frontier Province.—Mr. Krishna, Com. Assistant, Lahore, being examined before the Hunter Committee, was asked why it was in the Punjab alone that there were disturbances, while the other parts of India where martial law operated there was none. He replied because it was a frontier province. In getting him further to explain his reply Subrahmanya Sathya Shastri asked him in a more direct way which he could not evade himself. That is the class of questions and answers—

Q. You said in answer to a question that the disturbances took place in the Punjab because it was a frontier province. I want to know the reason.

A. The troops were there.

Q. Because there were a large number of 'troops' stationed in the province there were disturbances, is it correct, having thought it would have a contrary effect.

A. Yes, it should have, but the military value of the Punjab is so much greater than other parts.

Q. I grant that. What I do not understand is that the Punjab is a frontier province and therefore there should be disturbances here and not in other provinces.

A. It should be said that political agitation in those days was much better in the Punjab than elsewhere.

Q. It was not because that it was frontier province but because of the agitation.

A. I don't pretend to explain the whole thing.

Q. You cannot explain it.

A. I cannot explain it.

We cannot blame Mr. Krishna. He gave all the explanations and excuses of the great questions of questions—for that is the principal question the Hunter Committee is inquiring to solve—and left Subrahmanya Sathya Shastri to read them between the lines and draw his own conclusion. Doing one of the officers himself he could not have made a more direct confession. We believe when Mr. Krishna first said "because it was a frontier province" he probably intended the Commissioners to understand that it was a province where there is generally the rule of law rather than of force, of law rather than of persecution or constitution. The second reply via change there were troops is a further explanation of the first, that the officers could not think of constitution, they always held the military before the people and political class. The third reply gives not so much the sense of the disturbance as the common thread via inter-political agitation. But the facts again that the province was a frontier province in the sense we have given above, and it was therefore that the little political agitation in the province could not be tolerated, and was thought better enough to prove a sufficient cause for the rule of force.

There should not be taken that Mr. Krishna failed to explain the great questions of questions. He gave a frank and a comprehensive reply and when he was pushed he has faced with the mounting consciousness of his different absolutions of the same reply, he said he could not explain.

**Bruce Lala Laddhough**—Lala Laddhough, M. A., LL. B. (senior) Barrister-at-Law of Calcutta, who was arrested by the Martial Law Tribunal (No. 4)

in transportation for his rash destruction of property on the 15th June 1931, but whose sentence was subsequently reduced to 6 months has now been released. The release cannot, it is clear, bring any solace or relief to a man who when he put himself and his politics for justice. No more reduction of sentence, it is most heartily submitted, can be a satisfaction to Your Excellency's memories for it is an adequate measure well right the wrong that has been done him or make the work of justice. It will be remembered that Mr. Laddhough was arrested and sentenced on the testimony of an opponent whom he and his co-accused were not permitted to cross-examine regarding character, and even then all that the Judges led to say regarding Mr. Laddhough was "Laddhough, learned A, took an active part in the commission of the agitation against the Rowlett Act and was present at meetings of the 15th and the 16th. On the latter date he is said to have refused to attend the commission of acts of violence, but finally agreed. He was seen in several places with the mob on the 15th but appears to have rendered assistance to the mobsters on that date. We find him guilty under section 121 I P C." It is beyond our purpose here to make more than a passing mention of this, which is only to remind the readers of the glaring injustice that Mr. Laddhough has suffered. The whole case was dealt with at length on our issue of September 11. The thing to be borne in mind is that the reduction of sentence... I do not suggest release, with the conviction still standing against the accused, only "mobster and perpetrator," is the verdict of Mr. Laddhough, which is a grave and serious abridgment of justice. There must be some reasonable sentence in which such injustice has been perpetrated. We cannot shirk our duty. It will be shocking to observe and place duty if the judges were to read when and what as long as the conviction against those of our national movement in the Punjab's economic treatment. Not one Government effort to show these wounds to look for cure.

**The Kaur Incident**—If we may remember from a particular instance the Kaur incident, of which the description is given in a letter to the "Tribune" reproduced elsewhere, and fully confirmed by Mr. Gandhi, shows that officials in the Punjab are prone to get close to the nearest shadow of postmodernism. But the significance of the incident must though it was, less than obvious. Mr. Marshall did not doubt take the law into his own hands, but hesitated to make what reputation he could. He did not commit the process of Mr. Gandhi, even an unexamined interference into local affairs, but not only the grace to write Mr. Gandhi to explain the matter but the further grace to accept Mr. Gandhi's suggestion that the reputation he had

made was not adequate, unless there was a public expression of regret, for an officer committed in public and the wall further goes to encourage Mr. Oswald in public but regret for what he had done. On the other hand the public expression of regret was sufficient in merely the people, who welcomed it and felt not only they gave the officer a full forgiveness the incident, but probably think more highly of him than before. The moral in this case, Federal truth was told, the public instead of taking any postscript of officer's duty pointed out to the officer his mistake, to find to correct it and make sufficient amends for it. For the ruling that there could have better evidence of the "moral" alleged for him. Mr. Oswald had committed no doubt a great mistake, but he has admitted the mistake found a public body to respect him all the more.

If relations as these were more common, an inkling of well-being between the rulers and the ruled would be the rule, and all well and consequent disturbances a thing of the past.

### NOTES

Mr. Gumbel has sent a long letter this week to the *Horizon*. It contains in full his lecture at the Wiesbaden Conference of which he had supplied only a summary to the *Assenated Press*. Two points need work with as details in the English summary may have been noted. The first -

"Mr. Amells, the Secretary of the Conference has indicated in the papers circulated by him that the *Gereja* problem and the Pajeh matter will also be considered. I believe that the *Madras* step will upon the *Gereja* question here. The act of friendship is necessary as a happy tool that no international assistance. Cooperation that would consider as a commercial contract and not friendship. Confirmed acquaintance is like substantiated account which does not last. It is the duty of the *Madras*, if they see the pattern of the *Malabar* case to render cooperation. If the *Malabar* case feel themselves as bound as friends to spare the *Madras* feelings and to stop everything they may do so, as matter whether the *Madras* co-operate with them or no through themselves. I feel that as *Madras* in my knowledge of the case. I do not want to make the copying of such thing a condition, pure & not to be open. Unconditional co-operation is only the protection of the law. As regards the Pajeh matter I continue to differ from many of you. I have pushed deeply into the Pajeh records. They may have deeply distressed other. I will not here over say that they understand up the matter deeply, than they do not and just I think that we cannot bring us to the Pajeh grounds. However, we may the wrong done in the Pajeh. I think we cannot shake them from the Imperial Celebration as that score. We cannot say that the Pajeh wrong is unredressed to partly, our distraction. For we will expect reform. The *Madras* Committee is still at work. On our Committee is a fairly busy Club, if we are distressed as ourselves about another case, where our

the peace talks, can we decide upon alternatives? Such a case is only the Khinkhaid question. Movement of the Khinkhaid question and not only are we in the dark about it but we fully apprehend that it may not be settled on any conditions. We shall be accused of having lost, thoughtless and without sense of proportion if we hang on to the Pongah as a costly obsession, and if all damage both the Khinkhaid and the Pongah questions. The Khinkhaid question is a very sensitive and people's complaint is acute. We must make it as much to give it its proper place and value."

"Muslims, Allah, Your Schools are preparing a race of devils in this land and . . . Muslims, Graciously say no, nothing as regards the keeping of all the Allah's questions. That there would be him and to see Muslim brotherhood. But the Muslims, Allah's would be at stake if they forget the responsibilities of the Hajj. If they say no, well say that we should also something, inconsistent, these comparisons, because we are Muslims of the same and as a Muslim, I say that we should stop saying anything we shall not offend upon the names of our religion. Nothing has so helped the Hindu-Muslim unity as the Muslim cooperation with us in the question of Khatwa's. The whole meeting greeted the words with 'Amen'.

The following account given by Mr. Oswald of a Kansas meeting fully corroborates the account given by a correspondent to the "Independent" and printed elsewhere. I had received a telegram from Kansas that a Mass. man was arrested here by the Anti-Slavery office there, for a Kansas-planned attack on Mr. Wall. The man had not been placed at all with at once arrested. I thought this was a gross error. That Kansas officers should let a fellow who was both a student, a criminal officer, should be sent to the State. I therefore visited Kansas in company with Mr. Parsons and took the statements of two Missions who were taken by the first Free Press office. In the second one I received a statement Mr. Marshall, the S. D. C. looking me to see him. He said in the course of his conversation that he had spoken to the Kansas men and paid the \$50 to have an acquaintance. I told him that as he had probably broken the Missouri he should also publicly apologize. He agreed to my publicly expressing regret. The papers were also posted on the wall, but after a while I had to allow a big public square, attended by about three thousand men and women. I expressed to them the American, American regret and the people were greatly satisfied."

Mr. Oswald also refers to a visit to Vassarist about the papers were a very deep disappointment that they would not even accommodate him and his friends and stay here at least to put up in a single night. There, was a surprise, as there he had, he says, as Kansas had a small village near fifty miles from Kansas, where an immense population of the Kansas community which is reported to be the best in public, beautiful houses for the state and Kansas. There was, says that the mechanism by the the public office, even a small village and that to be with the deep interest in Kansas and not to leave of their office.

# Young India.

Published, Wednesday, 26th December, 1918.

## SPINNING IN SWADISHI.

(By M. K. GANDHI.)

The much-talked-of Reform Bill will become the law of the land within a few days and in due course the swadishistries will take the place of the old. M. K. the Viceroy has announced that he is going loyally to abide by the new scheme and that he will try to make it succeed. I have refused to leave expressing my opinion on the report of the Joint Committee for, I do not feel comfortable associated with it. It is not possible to be associated with a thing which when ready and means little for the people. So far, therefore, as the Reform Bill is concerned I would simply urge that we should take the fullest advantage of it and, like the Viceroy loyally work to make it a success. That it was an improvement upon the original measure is admitted by all.

But the real reform that India needs is to be made in the true sense. The immediate problem before us is not how to run the government of the country but how to feed and clothe ourselves. In 1918 we eat sixty acres of cotton seed of India, the buying price, if we continue to purchase foreign cloth at that rate we deprive the Indian weaver, and spinner of that which from year to year without practically giving him in exchange and in exchange. We wonder a tenth at least of the population is really half-starved and the majority of the rest underfed. He who has never seen a famine! But the millions of people are already being starved and our Indian are not spinning enough wool for themselves. The Reform Scheme, we realize has failed us and will not help to solve the problem on the immediate future. But Swadishi can solve it.

The Punjab has not the millions of acres given to us. We have looked at the successful success of the Punjab have not yet had the coming of their legions. High as the day did have the art of spinning. They have not yet have their spinning wheels many Gujarati women have done. It is to me a perfect delight to feel these flowering India of year into year. They, when they have come to their disposal for spinning. They, about that the Hindu women have their hand-spun yarn superior to the machine-spun yarn. Our frontiers were well able to do this. It was worth little effort and with perfect comfort and heat having to buy from the foreign market.

This beautiful art and science ought to be taught to the young boys and girls of our country. The Punjab is a good example. But the Punjab is not the only land of it. Every province must, degree in the output of, cotton yarn.

It means greater poverty in our houses and greater distress. The women who have ceased to spin are not wearing their work in any other or better manner than spinning.

But one thing is needed to make the ideal. If every educated Indian will make his own underwear, his bed, his clothing, present the women of his household with a spinning wheel and provide the family with the necessary amount of spinning. Millions of yards of yarn can be produced from day to day. And if every educated Indian will contented to wear the cloth produced from such yarn he will support and assist in rebuilding the only possible cottage industry of India.

Without a cottage industry the Indian peasant is doomed. He cannot maintain himself from the produce of the land. He needs a supplementary industry. Spinning is the answer, the simplest and the best.

I know this matter is a real step in our mental outlook. And it is because it is a revolution that I claim that this was to bring us through Swadishi. A nation that can now reap a return of rupees per year and distribute that large sum through its quarters and workers in their own houses will have acquired power of organization and industry that will enable it to do everything else necessary for its organic growth.

The doer is the answer, we must. We will get responsible government and I will protect India's industry without our women having to spin and our weaver having to wear. This has been actually said by thinking men. I venture to suggest that there is a double failure underlying the proposition India cannot win her protestations. First, and protestations will not reduce the cost of clothing. Secondly, more protestations will not benefit the starving millions. They can only be helped by being worked, to supplement their earnings by having a spinning industry restored to them. So whether we have a protestation first or not we shall still have to revive the hand-spinning industry and distribute hand-weaving.

When the war was raging all available hands in America and England were utilized in the same trade for building ships and they built them too at a amazing pace. If I would have my way I would make every available Indian hand spinning or weaving and make him as far as that work for a certain fixed portion of every day. I would start with schools and colleges, promising as they do, ready-made organized work.

Utilization of the hand work is the problem. They will take too long to create the cloth and they cannot distribute the dirty across in our houses. They are only some concentration of money and labour and then make ourselves more independent.

## The Call from the Punjab.

We hope the spirit in which the Hon. Pandit Mahatma Nehru has made the appeal by his radio speech, even have again now diffused from him will be fully appreciated. The present question at the present moment is whether differences of principle that come into the national body into different parties have still subject whether the chief practical issues that have divided them have not been settled. Whether there or not the Reformers there and few seriously think of rejecting them. The question is now how to make the best of these here to frame a chartered strong constitutional programme to make them inevitable in the country. We have long struggled in windy confusion, and it is time we calmly considered whether the questions are not many on which we may stand, and the controversies are not too far to divide us. We take it that Hon. Pandit Mahatma Nehru's letter contains appeal for cooperation to a party that can best render it with sobriety and moderation, which are its recognised virtues and also contains an earnest plea that whether we agree or question cooperation will not be considered lightly.

The Punjab will consider the force and even a responsibility to the appeal. The ordinary rule is that such determined provinces given that in questions which can best be settled by joint deliberations. Ignorance provides for more deeply and longer on the human breast than violence, and there is more eagerness in the province that can be dealt with even by the joint deliberations of all the parties in the country. There is the Revoltist, but on the State is back, the source of unpopularity and bad spirit, an eternal reminder of the country's humiliations, and now badly deflected by such and all. And lately there is the uneducated hearted the Punjab, a Province that has dared instead unimpaired by materialising wrong and that now sends a pathetic appeal for understanding and active sympathy. There is therefore opportunity not lightly to be thrown away, of showing to the whole world that one United India Meets with the bleeding Punjab.

After all so one is selfish. All parties have arrived in these past though there may have been a difference of degree. The time is opportune when we cannot afford to be swayed but by generous capricious, and if there is really no difference in principle, let a wholesome spirit of give and take prevail.

## Anti-Celebration Campaign.

In an article on the Peace Celebrations the *Yeshu* makes some remarks which are as far as they can be read as a concerted whole, may be considered here. The paper says in one place that it has "many sympathy with those who declare that they

do not propose to participate in the Peace celebrations," in another most "sympathetic to the celebration in both reasonable and capable of sound decision," and yet it repeatedly asserts that the British representatives at the Peace Conference have stood firmly by our demands which amounts to a suggestion that the idea of celebration should be dropped. But we prefer to attach more weight to what is repeatedly stated than to what is implied, and take it that the paper is opposed, only to the Anti-Peace Celebrations Campaign. It leaves its opposition on record yet with us.

(1) That celebration of Peace is no reason whatever in the Indian controversy, and it does not prejudge the Turkish question.

(2) That Anti-Celebration Campaign is calculated to embitter mutual good will as between Great Britain and India, and danger the Government in the country in every possible way, and as "we insisted on proceeding to that length because Great Britain rather than help being in an imperialist way try in the interests of the Allies or must be prepared to go to war against them out of respect to Turkish opinion in this country."

(3) That the Anti-Peace Celebrations movement is a means to peace goodwill and might, if accompanied by general efforts lead the country into undesirable consequences.

We emphatically contradicted the first statement. We refer the *Yeshu* to the letter, addressed by the World Peace Conference to the Times, reproduced in our issue of November 29, wherein he has stated as the main ground of his letter the persistent allegations of responsibility and that Indian India is quite indifferent to the matter of the Turkish settlement. It is easy to assert that if the Peace Celebrations are allowed to pass off without protest they may be easily represented as hypocritical as the striking participation of the Indian and British of India, as the Peace Festival. But why go so far as England? Even in our own country there have been evidence of such a persistent propaganda. The Hon. Mr. Dethlefsen in his Presidential address at the Khilafat Conference the other day, said that the "best attitude in the country are behaving themselves in a manner, which results in attitude of open hostility to Muslim feelings over the Turkish question. We have received telegrams from India of a systematic and organized campaign intended under official help and sympathy to misrepresent Muslim feelings with regard to the questions concerning Khilafat." We ask our contemporary to suggest how to deal with this British propaganda but by an anti-Peace-Celebrations propaganda. But probably the paper will retort by saying that even that British propaganda of overrepresentation of

the British stage in India and elsewhere. It is not necessary for us to discuss the evidence in this connection. But the Peace Conference, it maintains, no matter as to its character, it does not prejudice the British question. To this extent the reply will be sufficient that nobody will bother himself about such a propaganda unless with some object and a propaganda of misrepresentation of the feelings of a country can have an object only prejudicial to its interests.

The paper in question says that if the celebration of Peace is a mistake, widespread abstention will suffice to kill its injurious effects. The objection answers itself. Can *New India* suggest a better means to bring about "widespread abstention" than an active Anti-Peace Celebration Campaign?

The second objection is on double grounds. One We wish however that our contemporary had shown how the results of an abstention from the celebrations differ from those of an Anti-Peace Celebration campaign, or how we would good will between Great Britain and India be increased. The declaration of the gospel of Home Rule by Mrs. Bhaui and other propagandists to spread the gospel is now part of our proud assets. And we do not yet know whether the Home Rule propaganda has in any way diminished the good will of Britain towards India. It has if at all had the effect of awakening some of the British people that there is a genuine and kindly folk down in India for Home Rule. The Anti-Peace-Celebration Campaign is a movement of comparatively much smaller magnitude by bringing about "widespread abstention" from Celebrations, one only knows demonstrate to those who care to see it, our capacity for organised action and to make our voice heard. Englishmen would be as Englishmen if they disliked oppression and sympathised with such a righteous and honourable agitation as the Anti-Peace Celebration movement.

Example the Government of India can do in the movement towards bringing about withdrawal of our operations with Government on a sufficiently large scale. But a Government that means for the re-opening of a community must be prepared to respect the established works.

As regards Great Britain's claimed helplessness, we are afraid our contemporary is doing an injustice to Britain's capacity to make its will prevail in the coming Peace Conference. It has been able to do more many other things, and the whole country knows that offering, unless it will do so, only if with regarding consciousness weigh with Britain more than her losses.

We speak of the Peace and apprehensions that prompt the paper to advance the last objection. The Anti-Celebration movement may easily change its in-

terests and prove a menace to peace if it is carried along by our own. It is with the paper and ourselves, I think, the movement is intended to advance. It is mainly cowardly & mischievous. So far as we know, the Anti-Peace Celebration Committee has published fifteen or twenty appeals to signers to write the Publishers. It says so that the masses be educated, for as reasons why Indians are abstaining from forthcoming Peace Celebrations. Further "all public workers in the present of confusion are requested to take up work by printing and distributing literature on the subject immediately in English, Bengali, Hindi, Sindhi, Telugu and Tamil." It will be admitted that publicity work of this nature can be done only by the Anti-Peace Celebration Committee. The *New India* and the English papers cannot reach the masses. And how else but by an active, education, and publicity propaganda does one expect to awake their political consciousness?

We do not know whether *Indians* will be advised or will be the actual result of the Anti-Peace Celebration propaganda. People can station from the celebration both by remaining at home or in their shops. At all events, they have paid dues not long ago for their celebrations, where they were militant, and they may be treated not easily to maintain them. And after all is said and done, the expression of nervousness is surely not the way to give our countrymen—nothing experiments in Self-Government—least does a successful voyage.

### BOLSHEVISM—WHAT IS IT?

The word "Bolshevism" was every lip in every country. It is used alike in the press as in the platform by those who know nothing about it or have got their ideas of it from sources based on hearsay or on mischievous testimony. It has passed into every language and is by now for a movement calculated to wreck all civilisation and to set on fire the whole of human work as presented as "a carnival of human sin and corruption."

Only the other day the Young speaking at the Ghazipur Conference referred to it as a "new spirit abroad in the world" and said, "Bolshevism, prone to look upon order as tyranny, properly as profane and experimentation of living as the result of misadventure. The spirit cultivated by high priests due partly to the failure of the last mission"—by the bye, was there a world-wide failure of mission last year?—and partly due to the dissipation of the world's energies from production to destruction, aided by the devil of the great powers, and encouraged by moral and subtle propaganda to think that earthly scenes happiness and prosperity for all, this spirit is the next evil and the greatest danger that has come upon mankind."

In striking contrast to these notions is an article in the recent issue of the Nation wherein the writer unequivocally exposes the "Lie about Bolshevism." He says "there is now a cloud of misstatements about Bolshevism. Bolshevism is not a new and strange, and





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## Notes.

**The Furdah Fair**—All thanks to the few Newspapers which have led the struggle to move in the right direction of education from the Press-subscribers. While it is a sign of our growing civic consciousness the party never led to bring into high relief the ground we have to cover before we can prove to the world we are self-respecting people. The proceedings of the meeting of some of the corporations where the question of participation came to be considered well illustrated our meeting. The Akshatshahi Newspaper had 1000 copies, about thirty attended the meeting, and whilst about three-fourth of the number voted against participation, one-fourth voted for it. Now it is impossible to believe that those who voted against and they were a very large majority—could have been till the day of the meeting accessible to the public feeling in the matter, but they were easily indifferent to the matter until a letter protesting against the participation came for consideration. In Akshatshahi there was no question on the first day the question came to be considered and on the day it was decided there was a small attendance. That is due to order of our conference. In Akshatshahi whilst the question whether something should be contributed, or not was dropped altogether, because the committee realised that the contribution was against the strong current of public feeling and against law, there were some who even then decided that they should contribute to the Peace subscription fund privately. The instance of Akshatshahi

suggests a painful reflection. It shows that though the members there had a full appreciation of the public feeling in the matter some of them had not the nerve to take a decisive action even in a matter in which they thought the law was clear and adopted the despotic device of postponing for the displeasure of Government by private contributions. These instances have a distinct moral for both the ruling public and the municipal corporations. The fact that many newspapers voted the contribution means not that the members were all in favour of participation—they could not be otherwise in the state of public feeling in the matter—but because they either have given no thought to the matter of the most vital importance or because they are weak cowardly a superstitious fear of displeasing the authorities. The beginning though small is an encouraging note that the rapid growth of public life will bring in common sense with better sense of self-respect and free debate in representation of the people.

**The Khilafat Question**—The news from Constantinople that a deputation from the King of Hedjaz is participating in the Congress at Shiraz which will appeal to the Supreme Council in Paris to prevent the bringing of the Ottoman Empire into war, and more as a surprise, though it may come to those as in the time of the day runs the way that the theory that the ruler of Turkey is the spiritual head of all Muslims has no meaning. It is the very fact that has no meaning and we hope it will have no meaning in a Government that has declared that it had never the least intention to interfere in the question of the Caliphate. In May last Mr. Mervatshahi Fardshahi speaking in "Al Oshik" the official journal of the King of Hedjaz said, "The Khalid of Mecca has himself declared the title of 'The Commander of the Faithful' including his subjects to address him by a title which belongs exclusively to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey or Khalid of the Muslims." The news of the participation of the King of Hedjaz is a protest against the dismemberment of Turkey only emphasises Britain's obligation to respect the wishes of the Muslims. We hope Mr. Mervatshahi who has recently declared that the representatives of India at the Peace Conference had always urged upon the Conference the importance to India of peace with



# *Young India.*

*Established, Wednesday, 17th December, 1919.*

## INDIAN ABROAD.

South Africa East Africa and Togo present to-day problems for solution and test our capacity for solution here. Not until we feel for the masses of our own Indians in such one of us feels for himself, can we be said to have a consciousness of our nationality. Those of our countrymen who have settled in the different parts of the world look to us for guidance, help and protection.

And just as the agent of nationality is being tested as a test of imperialism. If imperialism means anything it must mean and include the capacity for protecting all interests that belong to it. According to that test Indians who have settled abroad claim double protection viz. Once as and from the Imperial Government. And yet both seem as far as have merely failed in the discharge of their trust.

For though we may gaze before the end of the year a final declaration that the Togo colonies are over ours and for all it reflects on credit either on the Imperial power or on us that the corrupt and immoral system could persist for so many years. And if we gaze the end it would have been due largely to the single-minded efforts of those two gentle Englishmen-Mr. Andrew and Mr. Cuthbert. But such men yet remain to be done. The Togo Government has so grossly neglected the welfare of those unhappy Indians that they are without proper facilities for education. They are in search of men who would educate them and guide them. Finally we have not men enough in India who would do such work as a labour of love.

The problem in East Africa is becoming more and more serious, as the following telegram, received by Mr. Cuthbert from Mr. Andrew who is at Nairobi, shows.

"East African Indian question is now most critical by day because united attempt is being made by European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise. The chief reason is stated to be that Africans morally discredited through Indian contact, but advance under Christian Western civilisation. Government Executive Committee report recently published takes the same attitude reasoning specially by Indian moral depravity, approving the South African exclusion policy. Indian immigration was expressed here by the local Indian Congress gathering which was remarkable for its weight and numbers. There decided an urgent request to stop all further here. The local Congress Committee has decided on my suggestion to

also stop the claim for preferential treatment as Christian East African while demanding complete restoration of all existing rights. Circulars and explain situation at the press and the Congress."

The telegram shows the unscrupulousness of the agitation against the Indians. Those who grieve about the Christian civilization, are strangers to the Christian teaching and know nothing of the manner in which the Indian matter has caused the misery of Africa. They ignore the teaching of history that the Indians neither persecuted East Africa when there was no European there and affected by the better manners and persons of the people. The Indians who went to South Africa did not force their customs upon the Africans nor did they take the freely lands in the one hand and the gun in the other, for they did not go to East Africa with the intention of "civilizing" the barbarians. They merely went there to trade among the natives of the land with their permission and left traces of their civilization among them in the same manner as say two sets of people are bound wholly to be affected by each others conduct. It was a single misrepresentation of known facts to say that the presence of Indians in the midst of East Africans has been any danger or cause detrimental to the latter.

What are we to do in the teeth of this unscrupulous agitation? In East Africa the Europeans has not even the plausible argument, that he has in South Africa, of being the pioneer settler, for the Indians is the pioneer. The development of East Africa is due to Indian labour which worked in the midst of great danger to health. If the Imperial Government surrender an iota of the rights of Indians to the unscrupulous agitation of the Europeans, it would be a betrayal of trust. Mr. Andrew mentions the claim of discredited Indians to preferential treatment. They have wisely given it up, not that they are not entitled to it in accordance with the standard of their detractors, but they give it up in order to reach the African and in order to keep themselves absolutely in the right. Even then is another problem for us and the Imperial Government if we are to justify our respective claims.

There were remains South Africa which is really the most difficult of all. We expressed in this issue the text of General Smuts' and unsympathetic reply to the Indian Deputation that visited at him. There has a controversy here engaged on an unequal fight such as our countrymen are in South Africa. Compared to their words they are poor. They have no political power and they have been engaged ever since 1850 in protecting the right to exist with self-respect and right which any civilized Government would not deny even to other wrongdoers. It speaks volumes for their courage and resourcefulness that they have been able to hold their own in the manner they have.



## THE SCOPE OF THE HUNTER COMMITTEE'S INQUIRY

We have no doubt that the stereotyped reply that the Bombay Government have given to the Hon. Rao Bahadur Bhalabhai Dadasaheb's questions regarding deaths caused in Ahmedabad and Kaira—printed in another column—will shock the public by means of its unqualified assurance. A careful study of the questions will make it clear that the Government have taken an unfair advantage of the Hon. Rao Bahadur Dadasaheb's overgenerous and faithful error, and purposely kept the public in the dark about serious matters of very great importance. We are of opinion that some of the questions can be easily divided into those of facts and those of disputable matters as the supposed or real cause of the disturbances and property or otherwise of the measures taken in connection with them. It is unfortunate that the Hon. Rao Bahadur Dadasaheb in the commendable attempt to elicit all important information, neglected the important misdeeds and grouped together those questions on matters, and thereby gave Government an opportunity—however slight—of evading them.

Some may not allow us to go through every one of the questions. But a few typical instances may be taken. There is for example the question asking for the date and hour when martial law was declared in Ahmedabad and when it ended. There is surely no reason why Government should not have been prepared to furnish this information. It is a question of fact which has nothing to do with the property or otherwise of the introduction of Martial Law. There is the question asking for information showing the loss, percentage of persons, evictions and possessions of persons who were shot by the military in Ahmedabad. So far as these facts are concerned the Government had no reason to withhold information. It will be remembered that the Hon. Pandit Mahabirji asked similar questions at the September session of the Imperial Legislative Council. The result of it was "Whether the Government will be pleased to state the number of persons who were killed or died of wounds or were wounded, but recovered, during the recent disturbances in the Punjab giving the names, percentages and other particulars specifying the place where each person was killed or wounded?" The reply was "the number as far as recorded were Lahore 14, Amritsar 80, Gujranwala 57, Gurdaspur 34. Information as to names are not available." We question whether the Government could not furnish similar information as regards disturbances in Ahmedabad. We will frankly say that the inquiry in the second part of the same question (XXII) regarding "the date etc. where the persons set free which are with the shooting down was absolutely unnecessary, irrespective the scope of the inquiry of the Hunter Committee. Similarly question No. XII, part of question No. XXII and XXIII, questions 34, XXII (4)

do appear to us to fall within the subject-matter of the Committee of Inquiry. But that only suggests that the Government should have dealt with the questions and given information as regards facts and explanations as regards matters coming within the scope of the Committee's inquiry.

We have purposely kept apart, for separate consideration, the important questions VI, XI, XVI relating to matters coming out of an order under Section 143(a) of the District Police Act. These are all questions arising entirely out of the administration of the police measures and Government were bound to furnish information regarding facts which reveal the proper or improper character of the administration. It will be noticed that the Hon. Rao Bahadur Dadasaheb questioned the propriety of the police measures, which may be regarded as the subject-matter of the inquiry. He has, we repeat, questioned the justice of the administration of the measures. The consequence of the Government has not even the least justification here. Its absurdity will be apparent from a consideration whether the Committee is going to inquire into, for instance, the year in which a house or damaged Government building was constructed, or the amount spent on its construction or why certain persons were exempted from the penalty, or whether those "who apply for exemption are the only persons who are here considered to be entitled to exemption." These are clearly questions which, in our opinion, can not be answered, and can only be answered by the Government.

We do not know whether the Hunter Committee has been advised to widen the scope of its inquiry as to the terms of the Government's reply or whether its enquiries from the facts recorded within its scope the questions asked by the Government. We hope either the Secretary of the Hunter Committee or the Government will enlighten the public by publishing a Press Communication.

## GUARANTY DISTURBANCES IN COUNCIL

The Hon. Mr. Dadasaheb's Questions And Govt. Reply.

Q VI.—What are the grounds on which the members of the police force and the European population of Ahmedabad have been exempted from the operation of section 143-A of the District Police Act?

A.—The attention of the hon. member is invited to the answer given to his question No. II, Q. II.—Will Government be pleased to give the following information with reference to the order of the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad relating to the management and recovery of damages arising out of the disturbances in April 1919 from the misdeeds of the "Ahmedabad unemployed" men under section 143-A of the Bombay District Police Act, IV of 1905, viz.:

(1) The names of persons, corporations, etc., to whom the request amount to loss or damage is given

- or to be given with their total claim, and the claim allowed, as well as disallowed.
- (2) Was any regular police enquiry held by the District Magistrate for the purpose of ascertaining the loss or damage in each case? If so, how many witnesses did he examine in each case?
- (3) Was any property about which any claim for loss or damage was preferred, the subject-matter of judicial enquiry before any of the Special Tribunals sitting at Ahmedabad? If so, what was the value of such property, how much of it was held proved and how much not proved or disproved, and whether the amount set as proved was deducted from the amount previously assessed?
- (4) As regards Government buildings burnt or damaged—
- (a) The main of work.
- (b) The year in which it was constructed or its probable age.
- (c) The amount spent on the construction of work.
- (d) The rate at which depreciation in the life of a building is calculated in the Public Works Department or Land Acquisition proceedings.
- (e) The present value of such work as its depreciation is calculated under clause (2)?
- A.—(1) to (4). The matters referred to will form the subject of investigation by the District Enquiry Committee which started shortly to visit the Presidency. Government do not consider it desirable to anticipate the results of the enquiry.
- Q. XII.—Was any attempt made to save the office situated in the collector's compound? If so, what was it? If not, why not?
- A.—The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answer given to question No. XI.
- Q. XIII.—Is it a fact that after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi there was a disturbance near the Prangaria on the afternoon of 10th April 1932 during the course of which there was firing on the crowd? If so, were any precautions taken on the morning of the 11th April to prevent a recurrence? If so, what were they? If not, why not?
- A.—The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answer given to his question No. XI.
- Q. XVI.—Will Government be pleased to state—
- (1) Whether after the date of the order of the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, under section 22-A of the Bombay District Police Act, any persons have been exempted under clause 2 of the said section from liability to pay their quota of compensation for loss or damage?
- (2) If so, what are these names and what are the grounds on which each of them are exempted?
- (3) The grounds on which exemptions are granted or refused?
- (4) Whether the classes of the police and private trust property and of religious and charitable institutions have been considered by the authorities for exemption? If so, with what result?
- (5) Whether those who apply for exemption are the

- only persons who in fact are considered to be entitled to exemption?
- A. (1) to (5). The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answer given to his question No. XI.
- Q. XVII.—Will Government be pleased to state—
- (a) The date and hour when martial law was declared in Ahmedabad on April last and when it ended?
- (b) The particular provisions of law under which martial law was declared in Ahmedabad on April last?
- (c) What was the particular pressing necessity after the night incident to property on 11th April last was over for the declaration of martial law which could not have been met by the posting of military garrisons at important centres in Ahmedabad?
- (d) Information in the form of a statement showing the names, percentages, ages, casts, residences and professions of persons who were shot by the military during the operation of martial law in Ahmedabad (including together with the date on which and the locality where), and the offences for which or such was shooting done was absolutely necessary and in how many cases it was so?
- Q. XVIII.—Will Government be pleased to give information in the form of a statement, with reference to disturbances in April last in the districts of Ahmedabad and Kaira, showing the names, percentages, residences, casts and professions as well as the period of custody along with reasons of arrest and detention and release of all persons arrested, detained in custody and released without trial, the names and the rank of the officers on whose recommendations or orders they were released and the nature and value of the property with reference to which the arrest and detention took place?
- A. The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answer given to his question No. XI.
- Q. XIX.—Will Government be pleased to state with reference to Mr. Gandhi's arrest while proceeding to Delhi on April 1932—
- (1) Whether any telegraphic information was received by the Government of Bombay or by any Secretariat or other office at Bombay to the effect that Mr. Gandhi was being brought back or returned to Bombay?
- (2) If so, the date and hour of day when the earliest information received to above was received?
- (3) Whether any and if so what steps were taken to publish the said information more widely for the information of the public in Ahmedabad and Bombay? If not, why not?
- A. The attention of the honourable member is invited to the answer given to his question No. XI.

## LALA LAKSHMAN'S LETTER.

Mr. Gandhi has received the following letter from Lala Lakshman dated October 20, in continuation with the one recently published in these columns.—

My dear Mahatmaji.

Some days ago in response to your desire, I sent you a rather lengthy letter, in which I developed some of my views, which had been briefly hinted at in the last letter I had written to you. Since the second letter was posted, I have been reflecting whether I had not been rather unduly critical of my educated countrymen in general, and the 'old leaders' in particular. Considering the circumstances, they suffered and the circumstances in which they were brought up, could they have acted differently? I have not then the responsibility of these mistakes lie on the system of education as regards us Indians. I have expressed my views on education as a means of uplift, some of which have been published in the Modern Review, and the others will be found in a book which will be shortly published in England. I do not propose to repeat what I have said in those articles and in this book. But I am going to take advantage of this opportunity to bring expression to some thoughts, which have not been all equally clearly written in that work.

We have to face, I am afraid, paid no much attention to the machinery of education and only little, very little, to means and methods to give the right methods. In considering the letter, we may so well divide them into modern and ancient. Under the term modern, we include the ideas that have held the world in their grip since the advent of the Industrial Revolution. Under ancient we consider all the systems of education that preceded in the world before that.

The ancient paid much, too much attention to 'life after death', to the study of the 'supernatural', to the mastery of languages and to minds and theories. They preferred to live more for their dead than for the living. The latter and tried to live more than to the moderns seem to be uninterested in learning languages they devoted precious years to grammar, syntax and prosody and pronunciation and what was left was usually given to minds and theories. Under that system religion was more or less identified with the latter. It depended more on form than spirit, more on dogma than character, more on beliefs than deeds. In trying to reverse the ancient system we have so far failed to get rid of the superstitious. Even in reformed, religious movements, religion still continues to be based on form and theories, dogma and rituals, beliefs and theories. Even when our teachers and professors and lecturers expounded the Upanishads they were more for the letter of the text than for the spirit. Everyone was there for the support of his own creed. What we need is not a creed but Karma. Creed doesn't help us, at least not much, to lead our souls. Our souls are lost only by looking forward and adjusting our natural susceptibilities. We can only lead a life of Karma when we understand and accept things as in nature, when we think rightly, feel rightly and act rightly. No Education which fails to help us to that and by way of being called religious. Religion does not consist of contemplation only, but contemplation and action. Religion can not be taught. It is a thing which grows. It is not

given to a man which has not been cleared of the fetters of thought and bias. People who have to stay away of loyalty to order, or to pure reason in which they do not believe, or to submit when they desire, or to control thoughts which should be expressed, under a servitude of religion when they start thinking it. We are should attempt to reach religion when he is prepared to suffer for his whole world. I believe that this was murdered or mutilated or strangled because very dangerous to those preparing to follow it as it is a violent force. To attempt to derive Karma from life is a very very risky affair. Then let Karma to justify the existing social structure on the basis of Karma and upholding the prevailing ideas as to property, inheritance, marriage, law and government as perpetuating the status. The modern system of education has a different kind of error on its head. It is based on text-books, examinations and diplomas. It entails and leads to education all the prevailing ideas of property and marriage, government and law.

We have been educated and brought up under a system of life which gives property and wealth the position of God. We talk of an incorporeal, immaterial, pure, moral and all-wise God, but all the time the education we receive and the progress we get from our surroundings induce us to believe that the real God to be worshipped, to be served and to be sought, is gold and property. Even those who talk in word of spiritual things and want to be dignified wealth show by their example that they adore and worship wealth. Some of our richest teachers and leaders have set an admirable example by following the ways of poverty and by giving up the pursuit of wealth in favour of duty and Karma. My request for them is profound admiration. But it pains me to see that in the present education and application of these plans they attach so much importance to wealth, property and capital as any one else does. The fact is that they can not help it. For the successful operation of the education and programmes they need money. They can not get on less they go to those who have it. Their failure, then, have to be forgiven and forgiven. The content a religious man does this he degrades himself. Unconsciously he gives importance to his or his wealth, strength or diplomas, and leads the student of his approach to achieve and progress which are seeking his own wealth. He gives the immediate object, viz. he gets money for his school, college, office, salary, etc., money, his way or anything of that kind but he is not an unscrupulous person who the moral life of his people. He professes and advances now whose method of acquiring wealth he does not approve of, he gives them pieces of money, he demands to them a right of controlling the institutions for which he gets their money and so on. He does it with the best of his business but what he does has the practical effect of undermining religious wealth as the highest pursuit. He may say that it is no part of his business to treat back the millions of money that comes to his hands for good and useful progress, and that he need not go beyond its immediate use, and that it is not his business to sit in judgment on those who give him wealth for admittedly fine and worthy objects. In my judgment that is pure sophistry. Our education leads us to look with approval, admiration and respect on those who can show though not honest and good, who struggle upon the rights of others to acquire wealth and obtain position, who are their trusted advisers to get the better

of those whose interests are not taxed, who make a parasitical use of logic, philosophy, law and language in order to make money and achieve positions of prominence and wealth. If you will examine the two people taught in our schools, if you will look into the circle of our teachers, if you will examine a little higher and peep into the minds of the officers of the Educational Department, if you will look around you and examine the general atmosphere of respectability pervading society, you will find everywhere and on all sides the supremacy of wealth, property and authority. You go through a court of justice and watch the question and counter-question put to a witness and you will find that the respectability of a witness is made to depend upon his wealth and property. You also know that a witness wealthy person has made his job by bribery, flattery, misrepresentation etc, we suspect him and hold him up for the contempt of the jury. I say being wealthy. Now in this matter we are on the horns of a dilemma. We are being ruled by a nation whose God is wealth. In order to save ourselves we must (1) to denounce the reigning God, (2) to use the same methods of making money as have made them rich and (3) to adopt their philosophy of life. In order to win the respect of our rulers we have to adopt certain brands of respectability which they have introduced. Some have committed themselves to our judgment, others we follow and practice just to please them. We can not help doing so. In the long run there is one idea which bears us day and night, there is only one test of right and wrong and that is the approval of our rulers. Even when we are not making a bed for their eyes, we are dominated by the fear of increasing their displeasure. The springs of our conduct can be traced to (1) the desire of winning the approval and the favour of our rulers, (2) the desire of getting as well out of making money - to be rich and respectable (which are practically one and the same thing), (3) the desire of avoiding their displeasure. Anything that is left of our own nature and Dharma, means afterwards. At this stage I wish to guard against being misunderstood. I am not advocating lying (conscienceless) or flattery (postures). I believe in proferring and using wealth, but I believe in providing for money for individual and national purposes and not for flattery or proferring or exploiting or dominating others. This is a subject on which I cannot enter at this place.

But I can say clearly that no further. How to get rid of the existing domination, build up life and society on a new basis of Dharma with educational, moral, political and economic in all, I do not yet know. Of one thing, however, I am certain, viz. that you can not build up a society like that with cooperation or foundation. What we can do is to promote the gospel of cooperation, to try to put it in practice as far as possible, a short glowing light aims and expanding for purposes of cooperation, the proper classes of our intelligences—the priests and the workers. All classes of people must feel that education will come from within with inspiration, mutual help and mutual trust and not from without, by coercion, discipline, rewards and greed or competition, nor by begging for foreign aid and munitions. This will take us perhaps a very very long time to achieve anything tangible, but nations

can not be built in months. The world cannot yet be ruled in that way and they will help us in our march onward and forward, if we only make up our mind to go ahead not blindly, passively and thoughtlessly, but intelligently, bravely and thoughtfully. The problem before us now is to start this work under the existing political and economic organization of society. What we must do is to start to do work on these lines without in any way improving or affecting the existing national and social and without putting ourselves in conflict with them.

I have my own ideas on this subject which I will develop in another communication some other time.

### INDIANS IN S. AFRICA.

The following is General Smuts' reply to the Deputation on behalf of the Indian community in the Transvaal that waited upon him on October last. (We repeat that want of space compels us to limit our the representation presented to General Smuts by the Deputation. We propose to print it in our next issue).—

The Minister in his reply said that he was not for delay and justice for all in the Union. The Indian community might also be rather that there was a very strong and a powerfully backed up movement about to vitiate the progress of the Indian community. It would be inadvisable in the interest of the community to take up all the past matters and have it included in terms of reference of the proposed commission. It would be better if the pending matter alone is taken for all points into thoroughly, do the Indians request me to accept any third party by that matter should be left out. He also pointed out that for European Netherlands in coming out to visit the Minister and about the Indian community and it would, therefore, be in the interest of the Indians themselves to make all the statements they can both to Sir Benjamin and the commission. He concluded by saying that he was very anxious to be on the best of terms with the Indian Government and those settled in the Union. He would enquire under his Government to give help in all. Having been great busy to meet another deputation he expressed that he could not give the time he desired to the Deputation, but the same will not stop his enquiry.

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and all the more important, for the fact that the author of the paper, as a result of all efforts to the Editor, should be rewarded in the best possible way. Editors are

1. *Journal of Management Education* 23(1): 10-19

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## Notes

**Handloom Weaving in South India**—In a recent issue of Congress and Industries Commission, an expedition discusses the feasibility of supplying power to small-scale units of handloom weavers. Large volumes of weavers there, instead of the electrically run, foreign yarn which can threaten to handicap the handloom weaving industry. The report makes up a strong plea for the establishment in the area of small spinning mills to save the threatened industry. *Re. over.*

• If the weavers are supplied with the rate of Rs. 7-4-8 per bundle (of ten pounds) they can weave a good cloth at their own expense and sell the cloth at a reasonable price. Thus the making of garments of the cotton available in the cotton-growing districts, by means of machinery, even on a household scale, enables the weaver to save more than one-

It pays the shareholders, but profits for the investment of their capital in a just stock concern. It helps the poor workers by paying them more at a moderate price made in the ordinary method of the society estimated separately from foreign countries. It helps, too, the savings bank loan-making industry which is suffering owing to the abnormal prices of foreign loans rising in the market and the paucity of a vast comparatively without credit beyond them. It is so logical that the savings institution will consider the situation and reduce the prices of loans for the savings, taking capital to them in a few years, as now, giving, with the American States, where, almost everywhere, the favorable labor is there, is an essential possibility in plenty and the fact that, in the future, it will be a fact.

—arriving at the place in for the establishment of more  
new city walls is obviously stronger for the in-  
crease introduction of handicapping. To believe  
the key for a solution of the problem is in the hands  
of the people of the district. If some million war-  
men take it into their hands to introduce spacing  
walls in each and every house and reduce the people  
especially the large agricultural population in the  
districts give all their spare hours to handicapping,  
they will not have to depend either on the mercy of  
a ruling authorities or on luck with some prom-  
ising politician. For might we know the ex-  
isting authorities may not be satisfied with the  
idea the people would have them to be  
solved work. New walls cannot wear into existence  
if I would say, and there is an little certainty of the  
new villages existing these villages with phan-  
tastic words, so there is of the existing ones.  
whereas the introduction of handicapping may solve  
the problem for more quickly and effectively. If  
more of the members of every family of women could  
be induced to give all their spare hours to spacing,  
they would be able to have part in the game of  
space. Especially the increasing population in  
the district were to be handicapping in its spare  
hours the women would have part in it because then  
the more of them.

There is enough cotton grown in the district, there is a large agricultural population, with nearly enough spare hands and keeping skills for at least four months of the year, and there are workers ready to spin the yarn that may be produced. No conditions can be more favourable for Swatcha of the present type and we earnestly wish that more enterprising workers of the district will come out and enable the people to turn more of their wool into their self-interest.

**Book Propaganda in Madras.**—The book propaganda seems to have taken firm root in South India. Master Devadas Gandhi after finishing his work in Madras proper, turned the southern part of the province on the Hindu masses, opening schools at important centres and asking people to actively support the propaganda. The response has been enthusiastic everywhere in Kanchi, Salem, Tiruchopoly Madras and other places where there are now schools for teaching Hindi, having fairly good attendance. We met the other day two Kanchi-ites. Veale who would not use a method of pronouncing words to us but in Hindi and then Hindi knowledge did make us less to these efforts than to their Hindi teacher. Now we wish their example is followed by everybody of India. Master Devadas is being succeeded by Mr. Harish Chandra of Tanjore who has spent half one year in the U. P. to learn Hindi under the auspices of the Hindi Sahitya Samajam. Master Veale will, no doubt, return with us and we have no doubt he will infect many of his Tamil brethren with his and the Hindi. It is gratifying to note that Master Devadas Gandhi a very good friend of Mr. Justice Madhava Aiyar who presided at the farewell meeting here graciously tribute to his work and who more fastidiously himself in favour of the movement. He said:

"Though Mr. Gandhi was not a Brahmin yet he (the chairman) always considered him a real Brahmin. He was Devadas Gandhi was doing Brahmin work by character, name and profession he was a real Brahmin. Therefore he deserved their respect and reverence. As regards the Hindi language itself they did want a common language from the Hindustani to Cape Colony and which the masses also could understand. It was quite true that it was Hindi. The late Mr. V. K. Raghavaram Aiyar himself had said that the Hindi language was the only language which could become a universal language. He believed that the response to Devadas Gandhi's appeal in Madras had been pretty satisfactory. Everywhere the movement was progressing rapidly. The fact that it had become a popular movement was indicated by the fact that the C. L. D. were taking notice of it."

Mr. Justice Madhava Aiyar who himself learnt Hindi under Devadas Gandhi also supports the movement as appears from the letter that he sent to Mr. Justice Madhava Aiyar. That is very encouraging for the best way to advance the movement is the use of light and leading to set the example.

**The Sultan as the Spiritual Head.**—The *Times* of London the other day quoted Mr. J. B. Barker to prove that the theory that the Muslim ruler of Turkey is the spiritual head of all Mohammedans whatever they may be, is an error of the late medieval century. A supporter of Lord Sydenham's is a recent letter to the *London Times*, however, insisted on this opinion. Lord Sydenham says "An exceedingly able

and experienced Muslim is recently pointed out that centuries ago passed with the rise of the Caliphate which European governments and governments suggested as a sort of Papacy of Islam has become extinct and obsolete and it is at all at events only in a religious sense or myth as far as the Mohammedanism of Muslims other than those under the Sultan of Turkey are concerned."

In India as long as it was under Mohammedan rule and in other countries similarly situated the same rule at some respects the jurisdiction of the Mohammedan law has been associated with religion. And it is only now that an attempt is being made to cover the rule of the Caliphate and regard the Sultan of Turkey as its rightful possessor on some questionable historical grounds. If we take both the statements to be substantiated by true and only information that can be drawn from them it will be that the rule of the Khalifa is a mere tradition and that there have been disputes for a time and that it has again been revived and is a living idea with the Muslims of today.

**A Contrite Apology.**—"It is understood," the *Calcutta* writes that the apology to the Government. Master Devadas has sent in a written statement to Lord Hunter's Enquiry Committee completely withdrawing the memorandum allegations made by him before the Hunter Law Tribunal and denying the circumstances under which he was led to make his previous statement. It will be remembered that on his petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, which was printed in our issue of September 17, Lord Selkirk's reference to the very apology had indicated that "the appellant was availed with the knowledge, and on the condition of being released, if he supplied proper evidence several days before his statement was recorded." The appellant's denying the circumstances under which he was led to make his previous statement cannot be a surprise to those that believed in Mr. Selkirk's statement that "there has been a clear attempt on the part of the Petitioner to deliver evidence against the record."

Now the Hunter Committee has already finished its work in the Punjab. Mr. Montagu has told us that it will be one of the functions of the Hunter Committee to recommend review of sentences. We doubt how far without examining the appellant who has, according to the *Tribune*, written to the Committee completely withdrawing the memorandum allegations and other evidence on which evidence the different Tribes and Summary Courts convicted and sentenced some of the accused before them, the Hunter Committee can come to a correct decision as to when that it should or should not recommend review of sentences. Mr. Montagu says that the Committee at all it is not, has it any intention to do so. Surely it is not impossible to suppose even a fair looking again to him in the Punjab to go back to the province to collect fresh independent evidence.





introducing any change in the working hours. This was because in the right direction, as there was no idea well contemplating the introduction of the 8 hours double shift system, which as the *Free Press* in its reply to Government has rightly pointed out, is impossible and impracticable in view of the fact that "working which hinders a man from half the number of families and homes in all India, suffers from the disability (which it is to be feared, will not be removed for at least two or three years) of having no working establishment within it, for the extra 100,000 to 150,000 men required for the second shift will be entirely made up of Bombay pariahs of such an inferior quality as will be sure to cost." This decision, however, has not attracted the general approval of all the proposed for a ten hour day and many valuably pointed out that the Assamites require more a ten hours day introduced by January next.

We may now consider the conditions which the Assamites demand should be satisfied before a ten hours working day is introduced. Their reply says that "the minimum minimum reasonable would be a working-day of 10 hours, only on the assumption that all other nations intended to give the Washington Conference and that there would be some sort of a general movement making the ten hours working day applicable to all employees of labour throughout India. We think that the second condition is quite natural and fair. Not so the first. The second we have quoted from a letter addressed by several prominent employers to the General Committee shows the enthusiasm of the demand. They admit therein that they have speculated the question from a businessman's point of view and that they are convinced that the present day is too long justifiably also, objection. It is true that they are convinced that a ten hours' day, well, ultimately a gradually, effect production. For that the employers are agreed, as is admitted in the reply sent to the movement, that a shorter working day will have a good effect on the general health of the workman and to a certain extent be able to improve their attendance and efficiency. In the face of these statements the first that 'work a shorter day the Indian will not have a just chance of holding their own in competition with countries like Japan, but no meaning. If the Indian labour is exposed industries it is much less efficient than the corresponding labour in other countries, why not remove the evil which probably will be the root of the evilness? Then expect to compete with other countries in the superintendence of the present working day helps in the competition. The old adage that while from the point of view of a country as from that of the Government the present working day is impossible, most products of other considerations and of its efforts to have the Foreign employment, it is necessary to adopt measures such as the suspension of export duty on goods from countries working against the decision of and not accepting membership of the Washington Conference.

We hope that the Indian Government will not step back at the conditional approval and by introducing a general ten hours day even before legislation will give the lead to others.

## APPROACHES TO OUR EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM II.

We saw that the problem of a Nation is realisation catered by the variety of interests and sympathies of the different parties. But what is to be suggested most with that party often unconsciously the interests of the other and goes on to make but blood on either side. The resistance most of the Indians on the side of Indian culture, money, and often very a party, the Indian social reformers of being to return to their own country and of having told themselves to the very nature for a mass of people.

They agree the well-intentioned British Liberalised 'educated' sympathy. "We know," they say, "What their sympathy means. We would prefer the Imperialism who is at least frank and does not deceive with hypocrisy. These liberals are running points or power just walk away on the air flow."

They have got only one word, "There", for those Indians who uphold the present system of education or of government.

They have to be spared the westernised Indian nationalist only. Nationalism they have not yet mentally accepted their position. Nationalism is the only one who have no better in the deal of nationalism. With these the nationalist and 'concerned' interested party, who would like to tell the Indian to keep by using to him only in terms of India's past and the heritage of Indian art and culture, which has been everywhere except the remnants of the minority.

The nationalist who opposes all western things is either a duped and a reactionary or a powder, catering to the prejudices of the masses in order to gain cheap popularity. As for the orthodox masses there is also no person would that has vocabulary of their sympathies spread them. And the lover of Indian traditions and culture are much or filled with his system on the wrong side of his shield. He is playing on the hands of the remnants of Indian conservatism.

These superstitions have raised a cloud of dust and blood over India. What a large amount of national energy would be used if both sides began to realise that nationalism are worked also some of our own weakness, if they utilised the nobility to Indian traditions those who cannot see eye to eye with them are in such capable of honesty as they themselves however that dust would not last long.

As a result of the activities of Reform and Reaction across the synthesis of Nationalism, which is a correct or consistent rather of the ideal of the Race.

Naturally enough the orthodox party emphasises that the liberal is not sufficiently loyal to the old order. Failing to understand his position, the orthodox people view the liberal of showing hypocrisy with the same vision and tenderness to position themselves in the old regulations and to the extent any change. The Reformers on the other hand, however, the liberal

and, venturing impulsively to revise the final part Properly understood, National Education will be found to be based on the theory of Evolution. No Indian realised this, that they can be moulded and re-moulded into any shape. Nor are they really slaves, that they can preserve their forms intact for ages. They are living organisms of a higher evolved type. The Race or Nation is Purusha according to Indian view. It has a soul, a heart and therefore a religious, both an spiritual and acquired character all its own. If you cannot change a man into a horse man, how can you re-form our nation on the pattern of another without destroying its identity.

The student, that you made is that you change a draft horse into a race horse but it must remain a horse. Since that is the Indian mind, drop it. It gets weary in keeping with its own clock, its wheels its drive, its gear, its pulleys, its levers and folk its own manner.

These considerations must decide our educational ideal too. The revolution of India is a very different from the modern revolution of the West, that any attempt to have our education on the Western pattern is bound to be ruinous to our race and culture. Its education not only our goal but our method also are different.

People sometimes say, All knowledge is one. Two plus two always make four whether in England, Japan or India. Is your then mean by a National system of Education to mean that the Greek is fat and surrounded by oceans of milk, glass and mortar? The Christian is entering coming anywhere from a shallow mud?

But we must explain ourselves. The sciences of education are generally grouped under two heads, humanistic and scientific. The former relates to moral ideas of Government, Law, Philosophy and the like. The latter comprises the social and the physical sciences as largely developed by Europe during the last century or two.

A little consideration will show that cultural education depends more upon the humanistic than upon the scientific side. So when we talk of a national system of education, we mean by it a system that is based on the ideas that the race has evolved, as regards the humanistic studies, for they decide by its our method in life. Before considering what this outlook is it is convenient to ask here, what generally occupies attention, viz. that even in the study of the physical sciences there is much a thing as national system. Because that study cannot escape the influence of the national outlook. MacDonaldestown like Ramanujan and Laplace like Sir J. C. Bose have shown that even in the investigation of physical sciences there is something like an Indian mode of approach. Scientific discoveries and inventions are no matters of a disciplined imagination. And so the national productivity asserts itself. These again the research is often dictated by the needs and aspirations of a race which are determined by its ideas and modes of life of a race. Therefore it is that both in humanistic and scientific branches of Education, the soul of the nation must be allowed full play and control.

Let us now consider what this particular situation of India is. It is necessary at the outset to remember that India is an extremely Indian civilisation, older than the memory of man. India thought has therefore suggested all the gravity and complexity that is man out of age and antiquity. It is not an immature or baby civilisation of a young nation and therefore it cannot be put into a straight formula nor can it be made to follow a logical definition. It has truly been said that the best practitioners of a science or art or literature help analysis. Its power and method are fearful but imperceptible like the weight of mountains. The same can be said with a deeper import and greater emphasis of the culture like that of India that has had more than once the honour of leading the whole world and which has still richness enough to solve world problems in its own peculiar way.

The legends of India, where as of Indian philosophy as we believe. Harmony—Harmony of natural opposites. Science and Philosophy both declare that the greatest miracle God has wrought is that seeming impossible combination of body and spirit, matter and force. History proves that Indian culture was made a miracle as God's creation.

So while the rest of the world is talking of struggle India chants "peace, peace". While Europe believes in the survival of the fittest India preaches the doctrine of "live and let live". Europe says, "I am stronger than all I survey". India sings, "From us no danger be to might that lives".

All sciences are struggling between enjoyment and renunciation between *Raj* and *Tyag* as we would say. For a time the world plunges headlong into pleasure and passion till at last it comes out a wreck of its better self. Then comes the wave of asceticism which looks upon life itself with apprehension and instead of fighting the world that was to her foe, it preaches escaping from life itself. It is therefore a healthy reaction for a time but ultimately the culture becomes the collection and the whole often develops into a collection of the flesh or hypocrisy. Indian culture, does not drop but it recognises that *Raj* is the nature of man but *Tyag* his goal. So in every phase of Indian life we trace a heroic effort to replace *Raj* and bring it within the control of *Tyag*. The Indian word for the attitude of thought and conduct is *Daya-Samgat* or *Worth Deeds*, the opposite is called *Akara-Samgat* or *Unworthiness*.

The *Daya-Samgat* is based on the belief of the immortal soul. The end of life is the attainment of divine qualities for the uplift of the soul, for the emancipation of the soul from the bondage of matter. Therefore it is that in Indian religion all the activities of life, moral or political, is directed as then relating to not spiritual or immaterial, are subordinated to *Dharma*. This being the ideal of society and the individual of the Indian education must take the same form. We hope to deal with this topic on another occasion.

D. A. K.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR HUMANITARIAN AID

Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses.

As president of our local union we are before you with a list of the members of the Department to whom having that written on them behalf of the Labor Community & Commerce B, 1119 Montreal Street, reply, which through some misadventure, was on 10/15 rejected at 1:30 PM. I would wonder who authorized

In the 1960s, triple trade is a reference to the Indian economy's status of being as the double — in China and Britain, and in India's part in the War. After making 500 Quanta (about 1000 G) and about 1000 with 1000 as the fundamental basis of the economy, the expression has become —

Shortly after the outbreak was effected, the great world war broke out and the peace movement left unattended. But in 1918 the Ku Klux Klan Membership and other Masonic orders attempted to have the Gold Law and other measures adversely affecting the Indian Community repealed against them. Attempts were also made on the House of Assembly in 1918 and 1919, when the Company Law of 1900 was repealed as to the Indian. Indian politicians have formed themselves into private companies for the acquisition of land properties. The Minister of the Interior on both occasions led the entire opposition on the ground that it would be injurious and unwise to repeal the provisions of the law in violation of the Government in the maintenance of such constitutional measures. However, failed to secure the Government in action. The Gold and Township Law, certain Mescalero Indians made effective use of the Land Ordinance of 1913 by refusing the Government's business to Indians on the pretext of the application being an undesirable person. This caused no little heart-burning and animosity to the Indian Community and all constitutional means were adopted by the Indian Community to protest against such arbitrary policy and procedure. Independent Indians were then often found to prove themselves not very heavy expenses in engaging experienced counsel to represent them in their appeal against such decisions. The Indians were extremely successful and on many occasions the pending Regulations were cancelled or under existing records on record in the records of the Commission. Similar applications, and again while the Mescalero, Lacandon and other Indian Indians were having no more interest in making the life of the Indian. It is worthy to be mentioned as possible. The Government on the other hand was not considering making it the business of the Indian Community on the Railway, on the independent and self-sufficiency of the Indian Community. We shall be making the necessary provisions by detaching the many unincorporated and independent, and extending the power of the Indian Community. One has found interest. The various laws and documents will not be taken on these matters.

We looked at it making a fine line between the agreement of the war to improve the level of economic situation of freedom and liberty. We agree that agreement was signed, the Government approved a campaign against the Indian Community in such a manner which meant the severe punishment of long established Indian business. Owing to a successful action by the Government the campaign against the Indian and the Government in the 1940s was not against Indian. In 1941, however, a campaign to punish Parliament, on 24 February 1941, for what was the Third Law, the 1941 Amendment Act and Local Ordinances 2 of 1941 was given to the Government. M.L.A. a Parliamentarian in 1941, was appointed to January 1941. The Government, the Government the Government

[illegible]

In regard to the ownership of land property by Indians by having Government title previous to purchase, we beg to say that the president of the Association was an indigenous inhabitant of the country's town. It was a company, properly organized by the Indians to regulate their properties in the name of some official members of the late Republic. Consequently, subsequently non-official members were dropping by the Indians themselves during 1918 in order to protect the Indian vested interest against the government's expropriation of the same, the pressure of registering mortgages in its against the properties in favor of the Indian owner was diminished. All this was known to the Government for years. In 1920 the company law was passed, and from that year to that of the passing of the American Land and Timber Act, 41 of 1919 the process of registering land property in the name of private companies composed of Indians was continued. It must be said, therefore, that Indians have safeguarded the authorities or avoided them, whereas the law itself has not been successful.





# YOUNG INDIA

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## Notes.

**Nothing Unconscionable** — Indians' Complaint related by the Press, and contains the following important extract from Mr. Buxton's recent speech to his constituents at Loughborough.

They would remember that as a result of discussion in Parliament last ordinary session, it was decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the trading rights of Indians on the Transvaal. Since then it had been represented that there was a strong feeling in favour of referring as well into the whole question of the ownership of land by Indians in this country, and the Government had indeed, been approached by the Indians themselves in the same direction for though they did not emphasize the matter of land, ownership in general they did press the consideration of the ownership of land in the shape of a trading into which was necessarily wrapped up with their trading. In view of this general feeling, therefore the Government had come to the conclusion that the Commission which would begin for land before it, should enquire into the whole of this important matter, and generally of the ownership of land by Indians in this country. In this connection, he wished to say that he thought it good deal of misunderstanding had arisen with regard to a speech of his in the Imperial War Conference last year. The Secretary of State for India explained of what had taken place in the House of Commons as a departure from the attitude he (Mr. Buxton) had taken up in London, but, as a matter of fact, there was nothing in the present attitude of the Government which was inconsistent with what he had then said. Their policy was still to be just and fair and sympathetic in dealing with Indians, but of course they had to remember their duty in dealing fairly and justly with the national interest of this country as well.

It will be noticed that though General Buxton said in his reply to the Indian delegation that visited on him that only the trading matter would be worth considering, as the "Indians are not anxious to acquire any fixed property," Mr. Buxton says that the Government have decided to include the whole matter of land ownership in the inquiry, in view of the general feeling of the Indians. The Government is, however, expected to be approached before long and it is useless to speculate what the terms will be. But the question of trading and land owning having been already opened by the Union Government through the Select Committee and the recent amendment, we may rightly expect them to include both the questions in the terms. Whatever in the terms, we have no doubt that without a clear understanding that the existing rights will not be adversely affected by any finding of the Commission, no inquiry will be worth having.

As regards Mr. Buxton's proposition that there was nothing inconsistent in the present attitude of the Government with the attitude taken up by him at the Imperial War Conference, it will be well to turn once again to the exact words uttered by him on that occasion. He said—

"It is only fair to say, and it is the truth, that we have found that the Indians in our colonies in South Africa, who form in some parts a very substantial portion of the population, are good law-abiding citizens, and a majority in fact, in South Africa, regard it that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like ours, and in the proper manner. As far as we are concerned in South Africa, we are in agreement with this resolution and also with the proposal to refer the question to our Government and we will give it the most sympathetic consideration that we can, certainly."

Let the readers judge whether these points emphasized were not all included by the Union Government when in response to a well-organized anti-Indian agitation they added to the terms of reference of the Select Committee, appended apparently to meet the Indian grievances inquiry with the alleged "invasion" of Lawford 1918, a worded emphasis to prove that deliberate wrong had occurred, even along along with the Manifestation that Mr.

17618



## Young India.

Announced, Wednesday, December 31st, 1919.

### THE ROYAL PROCLAMATION

(By H. K. Gandhi.)

The Proclamation issued by the Sovereign, on the 19th inst. was discussed of which the British people have every reason to be proud, and with which every Indian ought to feel satisfied. Coming on the top of the resolutions made before Lord Balfour's Committee, the Proclamation gives one an insight into the true British character. For as the Proclamation shows that the King, General Dyer's subsequently shows it at its worst. The Proclamation is the evidence of the intention to do justice, as General Dyer's deed is proof of man becoming dead upon fear and excitement. I believe that the juxtaposition of the two events is a pure accident. The Proclamation was the inevitable consequence of the great measure which has crowned the Royal event. It was the finishing touch. The R. F. C. has not erred with the Proclamation is an earnest of the intention of the British people to do justice to India. And it ought to remove suspicion on this score. But that does not mean that we may sit with folded hands and may sit back to get what we want. Under the British constitution we can give anything without a hard fight for it. No one for a moment believes the statements made in the Parliament that the R. F. C. have not been granted because of the agitation. We must try to hear the advice of the President of the Congress that we shall give nothing without agitation. We would have been wiser had there had been no Congress to agitate for the rights of the people. Agitation means no more than movement towards something. But justice all movement does not make progress, so does all agitation not make success. Undisciplined agitation which is a periphrasis of violence of speech or deed, can only retard national growth and bring about even accelerated degeneration such as they call now. Right movement, disciplined agitation is the condition of national growth. The most correct agitation, therefore, consists in the use of correct action and we have little doubt that the Royal Proclamation and the R. F. C. mean not less agitation and less work but more agitation and more work of the correct type.

The R. F. C. are undoubtedly incomplete, they do not give us enough, we were entitled to more, we could have managed it so. But the R. F. C. are not such as we may regret. On the contrary they are useful to enable us to expand. Our duty therefore is not to ask just them to say things but to settle down quietly to work to make make them a thorough success and thus complete the time for a full measure of responsibility. Our work therefore may now well consider legislation turned inward. Let us concentrate on ridding ourselves of social stains, on producing a strong character and on adding to the economic man who would seek justice not for self-advertisement but for national service.

There has been much mutual distrust between us the English and ourselves, General Dyer forgot the dignity of man and became anxious because he was asked with distrust and consequent fear. He feared that he might be 'assaulted.' The Proclamation more than the R. F. C. replace distrust by trust. It remains to be seen whether the trust will flow down to the civil service. But let us assume that it will and let us respond in the fullest manner. We cannot be wrong in so doing. To trust is a virtue. It is weakness that begins distrust. The best satisfaction we can derive undoubtedly is work gracefully and ungrudgingly. Our honest work will constitute the best guarantee for quickening the pace of progress towards the goal.

Throughout all these years, the one figure that has shined for India without, for a single moment, turning back to Mr. Montagu. We have had many Secretaries of State who have advised their office. But no Secretary has so well advised it as Mr. Montagu. He has been a true friend of India. He has earned our gratitude. And, for Lord Balfour! He has added lustre to his country, India has every reason to be proud of him.

### INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

"From among the Indians and you may start up the Protestants. But for the Indians we should not be in East Africa now."

—Sir John Kirk.

There is a reference in Mr. Andrew McGregor's Report to the Report of the Economic Committee appointed by the East African Government, recently published, which he says, specially mentions Indian moral depravity and approves the South African exclusion policy. The East African Chronicle of November 29 contains detailed references to it, so far as it speaks of the Indian population in the colony. A few quotations from the Report will reveal the nature of the agitation that is at present on foot in the colony, and also the nature character of the arguments which are used to support it.

The Report starts with some statistics. While it admits that no trustworthy figures are available, it states that the European population at that time in 1917—was probably 5000, of whom less than 2000 were non-official white adults, that "the Indian population, consisting mostly of artisans and shopkeepers, probably numbers about 12000" and the number of Africans is estimated at about 27,00,000. The paper says that two full pages of the Report are devoted to unmeasured vituperation and uncorroborated claims of the Indian. We wish we had the two pages before us. But the East African Chronicle has extracted some very characteristic sentences out of it. There is the allegation, for instance, that the "Indians in the Protectorate are mostly drawn from the lowest type of artisan, coolies and Bangs or

small shopkeeping classes, and isolates few representatives of the more responsible elements of the population of India," and "that physically the Indian is not a wholesome influence because of his excessive propensities to mendacity and hygiene. In this respect the African is more civilized than the Indian, being naturally clean in his ways." Reference is also made to the mental depravity of the Indian, which is represented as very damaging to the Africans. One would infer from this description of the Indian and the African that the latter being morally and physically healthier than the former, should fill a more useful and important place in society. But we read in the same Report with not a little surprise that the "Indians are only just emerging from savagery," and that the "Indian has played and still plays a useful part in opening up trade, introducing the wants of the natives and inducing them to part with their products (not for purposes of export, but to exchange, in effect, for help in working them and get him a physically and mentally depressed creature! But, the Report goes on," for this service he is entitled to credit, but the essential point is that the same service might, with due encouragement, have been performed by the native people. As well argue, after a patient has been cured through the local services of a doctor that with proper care and training he would have been cured without the help of the doctor. But the commissioners have gone even further. They complain that the doctor was an outsider and without him the patient would have been cured sooner! For nothing has to be said by the statement that "by the strengthening productivity of this country that here the Indian plays the part of a clerk, artisan, carpenter, mechanic etc. functions which the African is capable, with training, of performing."

We do not know the Commissioner's terms of reference, but it would be surprising if they are broad enough as to include critical inquiry of the economic conditions of a colony, an inquiry into its moral conditions is not. We hope to hear from Mr. Andrew more about this and we shall have recently examined the allegations in the light of African and European opinion already expressed. As regards the allegations that the Indian settlers are mostly drawn from "the lowest type of criminals, vagabonds, etc.," it may be noted that what the Commissioner of Lands and about them. The Hon. Mr. A. H. Lawrence in his famous pamphlet denouncing the presence of Indians in East Africa, stated in 1912 quoted the Commissioner's words: "The Indians have been in East Africa for many generations. They came long before the Europeans. They have constructed the Uganda Railway which is such an important factor in the development of the country. All the trading wealth is in the hands of the Indians." Surely it is not within the power of the "lowest type of the criminal caste" to con-

struct the Uganda Railway, nor within the power of the "lowest type of Negroes to own all the trading wealth in the country. Along with the official testimony there is the non-official testimony of a European via Mr. E. H. Sailer, who writing in 1912 in the *Journal of the African Society* answered the allegations about the moral and physical depravity as well. He says many years ago enterprising merchants from India found their way to the East African coast and established there trading posts. In the Company days these enterprising traders pushed out Indian into the heart of Africa and established agencies far away in the interior. The name of Ali Khan Tulewa is known throughout the length and breadth of East Africa and Uganda. These traders introduced and sold merchandise against enormous influence amongst the primitive natives, the wealth of their presence in the development of the country is shown to be noticed by the Administration on the direction of one of their number to the dignity of the Legislative Council. The Commissioner in their study went to such a case for casting the Indian have up and all facts and came to the decision which are an excellent guide to the good sense of the East African Government before the Indians. It is even the Government recognizes that the Indian fills an important place in the physical and political as well as the Protectorate and the number of Indians in Government employment is not much smaller than that of Europeans. According to the testimony of an official paper, out of the 3200 Indian residents in Nairobi in 1929 were Government employees. The law of Nairobi is interesting in many respects. One of the 3200 European white-collar-men of these Europeans from the South African Colonies about 800 are resident in Nairobi, and even these 800 have settled there in the course of these 20 years, for at the close of the last century Nairobi had only one European inhabitant and but for Indian development at Mombasa, and Indian labour on the Uganda Railway, Nairobi would have been unimportant to-day. And it is these immigrants of the other day, who are getting up an agitation to close the doors of East Africa against the Indian. Indians who settled there as long as two centuries ago, and played no small a part in the development and progress of a large part of the Protectorate.

In a spirit of Protectionist selfishness the Commissioners have declared the African to be morally but not then the Indian. The Indian is probably depressed because of his incapacity to exercise a controlling influence over the Africans, for the civilized African may prove no smaller a menace than the Indian. The very state of savagery of the African makes him less undesirable than the Indian. It is his willingness to remain a perpetual heave of wood and charcoal of waste that makes the African to look morally superior to the Indian in the

Europeans say. If the Indian clerk and teacher can be successfully mixed-race, the argument is, the moral and physical impediment of the African is a determined one for the purpose—the European would be free to pursue any policy of keeping race-mixing as essentially

We believe that the *Joint Franco-Chinese Commission* rightly thinks that the Economic Commission Report is doing just a calculated bribe on the Indian community and that to take the issue of legislation is most most evident risk for the community. It would not be too much to expect the Imperial Government to ask the Franco-Chinese Government to discontinue the report from such a document and to display that it will not be made the basis of any legislation adversely affecting the Indians.

Stated that this is type. Another a telegram has been received saying that Mr. T. J. Bennett drew attention to the House of Commons to the indignities among Indians owing to the successive references to Indians in the Report of the East African Economic Commission, and that Lord Col Amery assured him in reply that the views of the Report must not be regarded as the views of the Government of East Africa or of the Imperial Government. The report should be laid before Col Amery also stated that the whole question of policy in the East African Protectorate with regard to Indians would be discussed before the two areas of East Africa and East Africa. The latest East African Chronicle has written a striking review of another edition, corroborates the view. The report of a speech made by the present Governor of East Africa, however, he said that Sir Edward Northey, in whose temporary absence he was acting, had discussed with Lord Milner the problem of "African rights and exploitation, and the paper also states that the Colonial Office has called into consultation the Governor of Uganda and the African studies of the Comparative Tropical also. We do not know if any one is expected to represent the Indian case, either from the official or people's point of view, has been asked to take part in this important Conference. The East African Chronicle says that Sir Edward Northey's views are known to be an advisory and power not too even with any particular Governor as the presentation who recognizes that the Indian question should be settled by the Imperial Government—'a single and absolute solution as clearly', is not entirely free from the prevailing prejudice, as appears from his reference to the Indian as 'Indian immigrants' and to the European as 'European colonists', though as a matter of fact both are immigrants and whilst the former have settled there for centuries the latter are settlers of only the other day. In this state of things it will be nothing short of a shame if Englishmen as represented the Indians' rights before the back of the Indian, by officials deliberating in secret and deciding in secret. In this connection we entirely sympathize ourselves with the views of the Times of India which has all along expressed the Indian sympathies for the Indian movement.

1870-1890, 1890-1910, 1910-1930, 1930-1950, 1950-1970, 1970-1990, 1990-2010, 2010-2030, 2030-2050, 2050-2070, 2070-2090, 2090-2110, 2110-2130, 2130-2150, 2150-2170, 2170-2190, 2190-2210, 2210-2230, 2230-2250, 2250-2270, 2270-2290, 2290-2310, 2310-2330, 2330-2350, 2350-2370, 2370-2390, 2390-2410, 2410-2430, 2430-2450, 2450-2470, 2470-2490, 2490-2510, 2510-2530, 2530-2550, 2550-2570, 2570-2590, 2590-2610, 2610-2630, 2630-2650, 2650-2670, 2670-2690, 2690-2710, 2710-2730, 2730-2750, 2750-2770, 2770-2790, 2790-2810, 2810-2830, 2830-2850, 2850-2870, 2870-2890, 2890-2910, 2910-2930, 2930-2950, 2950-2970, 2970-2990, 2990-3010, 3010-3030, 3030-3050, 3050-3070, 3070-3090, 3090-3110, 3110-3130, 3130-3150, 3150-3170, 3170-3190, 3190-3210, 3210-3230, 3230-3250, 3250-3270, 3270-3290, 3290-3310, 3310-3330, 3330-3350, 3350-3370, 3370-3390, 3390-3410, 3410-3430, 3430-3450, 3450-3470, 3470-3490, 3490-3510, 3510-3530, 3530-3550, 3550-3570, 3570-3590, 3590-3610, 3610-3630, 3630-3650, 3650-3670, 3670-3690, 3690-3710, 3710-3730, 3730-3750, 3750-3770, 3770-3790, 3790-3810, 3810-3830, 3830-3850, 3850-3870, 3870-3890, 3890-3910, 3910-3930, 3930-3950, 3950-3970, 3970-3990, 3990-4010, 4010-4030, 4030-4050, 4050-4070, 4070-4090, 4090-4110, 4110-4130, 4130-4150, 4150-4170, 4170-4190, 4190-4210, 4210-4230, 4230-4250, 4250-4270, 4270-4290, 4290-4310, 4310-4330, 4330-4350, 4350-4370, 4370-4390, 4390-4410, 4410-4430, 4430-4450, 4450-4470, 4470-4490, 4490-4510, 4510-4530, 4530-4550, 4550-4570, 4570-4590, 4590-4610, 4610-4630, 4630-4650, 4650-4670, 4670-4690, 4690-4710, 4710-4730, 4730-4750, 4750-4770, 4770-4790, 4790-4810, 4810-4830, 4830-4850, 4850-4870, 4870-4890, 4890-4910, 4910-4930, 4930-4950, 4950-4970, 4970-4990, 4990-5010, 5010-5030, 5030-5050, 5050-5070, 5070-5090, 5090-5110, 5110-5130, 5130-5150, 5150-5170, 5170-5190, 5190-5210, 5210-5230, 5230-5250, 5250-5270, 5270-5290, 5290-5310, 5310-5330, 5330-5350, 5350-5370, 5370-5390, 5390-5410, 5410-5430, 5430-5450, 5450-5470, 5470-5490, 5490-5510, 5510-5530, 5530-5550, 5550-5570, 5570-5590, 5590-5610, 5610-5630, 5630-5650, 5650-5670, 5670-5690, 5690-5710, 5710-5730, 5730-5750, 5750-5770, 5770-5790, 5790-5810, 5810-5830, 5830-5850, 5850-5870, 5870-5890, 5890-5910, 5910-5930, 5930-5950, 5950-5970, 5970-5990, 5990-6010, 6010-6030, 6030-6050, 6050-6070, 6070-6090, 6090-6110, 6110-6130, 6130-6150, 6150-6170, 6170-6190, 6190-6210, 6210-6230, 6230-6250, 6250-6270, 6270-6290, 6290-6310, 6310-6330, 6330-6350, 6350-6370, 6370-6390, 6390-6410, 6410-6430, 6430-6450, 6450-6470, 6470-6490, 6490-6510, 6510-6530, 6530-6550, 6550-6570, 6570-6590, 6590-6610, 6610-6630, 6630-6650, 6650-6670, 6670-6690, 6690-6710, 6710-6730, 6730-6750, 6750-6770, 6770-6790, 6790-6810, 6810-6830, 6830-6850, 6850-6870, 6870-6890, 6890-6910, 6910-6930, 6930-6950, 6950-6970, 6970-6990, 6990-7010, 7010-7030, 7030-7050, 7050-7070, 7070-7090, 7090-7110, 7110-7130, 7130-7150, 7150-7170, 7170-7190, 7190-7210, 7210-7230, 7230-7250, 7250-7270, 7270-7290, 7290-7310, 7310-7330, 7330-7350, 7350-7370, 7370-7390, 7390-7410, 7410-7430, 7430-7450, 7450-7470, 7470-7490, 7490-7510, 7510-7530, 7530-7550, 7550-7570, 7570-7590, 7590-7610, 7610-7630, 7630-7650, 7650-7670, 7670-7690, 7690-7710, 7710-7730, 7730-7750, 7750-7770, 7770-7790, 7790-7810, 7810-7830, 7830-7850, 7850-7870, 7870-7890, 7890-7910, 7910-7930, 7930-7950, 7950-7970, 7970-7990, 7990-8010, 8010-8030, 8030-8050, 8050-8070, 8070-8090, 8090-8110, 8110-8130, 8130-8150, 8150-8170, 8170-8190, 8190-8210, 8210-8230, 8230-8250, 8250-8270, 8270-8290, 8290-8310, 8310-8330, 8330-8350, 8350-8370, 8370-8390, 8390-8410, 8410-8430, 8430-8450, 8450-8470, 8470-8490, 8490-8510, 8510-8530, 8530-8550, 8550-8570, 8570-8590, 8590-8610, 8610-8630, 8630-8650, 8650-8670, 8670-8690, 8690-8710, 8710-8730, 8730-8750, 8750-8770, 8770-8790, 8790-8810, 8810-8830, 8830-8850, 8850-8870, 8870-8890, 8890-8910, 8910-8930, 8930-8950, 8950-8970, 8970-8990, 8990-9010, 9010-9030, 9030-9050, 9050-9070, 9070-9090, 9090-9110, 9110-9130, 9130-9150, 9150-9170, 9170-9190, 9190-9210, 9210-9230, 9230-9250, 9250-9270, 9270-9290, 9290-9310, 93

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We take the following very important action from the first instant of November:

The Chathamians' New year, held at the Hawbury Institute on Saturday November 23 afforded us an opportunity, as each company usually do, for His Excellency, the Acting Governor (Sir Charles Browne) to deliver an interesting address reviewing the present position of affairs in the Protectorate and outlining as far as was possible, his own policy as future successor for Sir Edward Northcote; the Government's policy for the immediate future.

His Secretary's speech, moderate and apologetic in tone, was ably answered and rebuffed every subject of personal importance.

The Honorable deals with other matters of interest such as finance, taxation, defence, judicial appointments, and Federal affairs, but as we are concerned, his most important statements deal with the Income question. He made the following statement that among the most important matters which the Honorable Manning will discuss with the Secretary of State for the Colonies will be the problem of Income rights and obligations. "We well know that when Sir Eden of June arrived in this country to taking the post-ambassador's course for Indian post, seated on the Indian question, his health had been here very many days before he even met a man had undergone a change, being no doubt, to the whole audience of those to whom he was immediately introduced. We have every reason to hope, however, that freed from these constant influences, and in the more happy atmosphere of the Imperial Government, when making as he should be, Justice for all British subjects, he will reverse the error which he had been, authorized to commit in London."

It is overwhelmingly evident that an important move is about to be made in London, with regard to East African affairs, as the Colonial Office has called into consultation such important authorities as Sir Edward Maitland, Sir R. J. Casper and Sir Horace Byatt, Administrator of the Colonial Treasury. These high officials clearly, with the personal assistance of the influential Sir John Thompson, it is a problem to convince the Colonial Office that the long drawn out a liberal policy towards British India in all the Frameworks is a matter of vital concern.

In the course of his speech on Saturday night the Chinese on Haining suffered indignities described as "the so-called *Asian Problem*." We venture to think that if it can be said, now well known, being long that it is not merely "new" or "old problem" but a very real and constant hindrance to a part of the Asiatics to secure their just rights. However, we may suggest the passing night, since for Chin-ling stated that in his personal opinion the white grounds is one which must be settled by the Imperial Government, which is responsible for the welfare of the Empire as a whole. He did not say, and in that opinion we heartily agree with him, how can we continue of the final autonomy we demand the right to determine the race? We suggested that religious suppression of opinion is the action of the Government of Americans, and especially in the suppression of Lord Delmonico, Major Greyson and those other well-known soldiers, who seek the support of British Indians from British East Africa. He then said, "I am not sure that we should not be more careful of the Asiatics in that regard, as the European Colonies are the Asiatics in

highlight who seek to divide the question, it seemed to him that it was a matter which must be settled by a higher and altogether national authority. "We do not propose publicise with more publicity, but surely the Chamber was mistaken in his reference to European "Colonists" and Indian "Immigrants." We should say that the Indians who have been settled in this country from all ways beginning are more entitled to be termed "colonists" particularly as they have founded every township in Nyasaland and established commerce and industry throughout the country of which the European immigrants or comparatively recent settlers have not been able to take full advantage.

Proceedings on a future report the Government reported on having said that he would like to see their usual policy confirmed by an Act of Parliament or an Order in Council and not subject to local legislation, so that the development of the land so far as may be restricted by national limitations between two systems of community, who, when all is said, are mutually dependent on one another for their welfare and prosperity.

We are entirely in accord with his statements and are anxious that if they are put into operation, it will be for the benefit of our people. But was the Imperial Government more entitled to take a more practical view of the matter. That right and authority is based on authority will possibly suggest that the British Indians in East Africa are not immigrants and alone. The whole Indian Empire is made up of the Indians and among the rest, and that is a far more serious matter than the question of a minority of degraded European settlers in a remote corner of the Empire such as this.

#### MR. ANDREW MUNRO AT MOMBASA.

Mr. Andrew was reported to have made the following speech at Mombasa—

He had been specially asked by Mr. Gandhi to come out to Africa, and he had done so at heart with very great pleasure, because most respect and growing esteem called him to remain in India. But now that he had landed in this Province, and had read the findings of the Indian Question by the Executive Committee supported by Government, under the Hon. Francis Williams, Major (Speaker of which had not yet reached India before the speaker had left for East Africa), he had seen more clearly how correct the mission was for the Indian Community in the Province for the definite policy which was outlined by the Executive Committee must, if adopted, lead to something not far short of final extinction of Indians.

The Indian Community as a whole (as that Community's report was reported as nothing less than a guarantee to the welfare of the Africans themselves. The Governor's report, therefore, represented a challenge, on the grounds of fact of moral claims, which the Indian Community must take up and answer. It was the most serious thing possible for the East Africa Provinces Government to have published such findings, without any question or comment, in the deliberate confidence of their own appointed Commission. Such findings of an authorized Government Commission constituted legislation, and legislation issued in accordance with these findings could only imply, for the Indian Community, extinction from the East Africa Provinces at some future date.

The speaker went on to say that during his stay in the Provinces, he would do his utmost to find out how far

the allegations as to the facts of moral claims of the Indian Community for extermination in East Africa were founded on substantial facts and how far they were anything more than the opinion of the members of the Executive Commission.

He hoped to, by this to meet individual members of the Executive Commission itself and also leading, thoughtful people from every section of the population in East Africa, and to discuss the matter with them. He would try to investigate the subject, as far as time permitted, at the spot.

#### INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

##### The De Wets Speech.

(From the Star.)

Mr. N. J. De Wet, Minister of Justice, who is commencing a political tour of his constituency, last night met a large number of delegates from local bodies, including the Municipal Council, the Chamber of Commerce, the South African League, and gathered around with reference to the Asiatic question.

In the course of a statement made to the meeting, the Minister reviewed much of the ground already covered by the discussion in Parliament, and went on to say that while the Government was acquainted with the material to be dealt with in view of its increasing strength, they had to proceed along delicate lines and not indulge either in party legislation or in action that would not carry the matter to even real conclusion. They did not, he continued, deport Indians here in this country any more than they would deport any white South African even under the proposed law. "All this nonsense," said Mr. De Wet, "about the British Government interfering with us on this question is all nonsense. The British Government do not interfere in this matter at all. They naturally watch the question from the point of view of the Indian Community, and they might with kindly consideration be as anxious as our Government would be. The Indian Government are watching it, and their Government could not refuse the request of the Indian Government to send a representative, Mr. Williams notwithstanding, to look after the interests of our subjects. It would be a very absurd and an extremely out of the part of any Government to refuse a reasonable request of that sort." If, however, anyone would give him evidence as regard to Indians coming into the country, illegally, giving names and places, he would see that steps were taken to find the matter out and to have them put out.

##### "SILENT TALKING TALK."

But it was largely regrettable work which the Government had to do. In fact its legislation was concerned the door was closed against Asiatics, but as far as the Administration was concerned it could not say that any one had been kept out. The Government, however, would not promptly say anything out of the law. The Indians in the country had to be treated fairly. On the question of the matter, the Government was entirely at one with them whatever on the question of restricting trading, but as far as registration was concerned he did not know that it was possible. The Government was not changing the name of the Asiatics, but the question had to be dealt with a cool head and with regard to justice and right. They wanted to know, he continued, what it was going to cost to register and emancipate the Indians. Then the Com-

Union having reported on all the points, the country would have to decide, not the Government alone, and today when that it would agree to pay the necessary taxation to retire the debt in view. It was a question for the whole of British India. Members in the House) are the Government were asked of the Indian question. Pethica) replied it was being made out of the matter, he did not say by any particular party, and he replied to day with all his might that the Government have was doing the bidding of the British Government. (Applause.)

The Minister was unanimously thanked by the meeting.

### THE LESSON OF THE WAR.

A summary of the great lesson, which is presented elsewhere, is presented as far as possible in the words of the distinguished orator—

The day is coming when men, tired of being led like sheep to slaughter, will choose to follow the man of Truth. This great Jesus will. The world is a closed shop, everything is so carefully, such and made up, that who cannot it. Nothing is lost, all is counted up. Everything is staid from, on the thousandth attempt the hundredfold. And that is why Europe has gone broke. Death is her the most wrong that is many times and in so many places the hundredth others. Those men who are in position to make a record of responsibility are not so readily. Each one wishes to illustrate the success enjoyed by others and to lead all of them on following the apparent while hiding on a snail.

The men of the great nations, brought along by the war were led, not to liberate the world from that so thick grew, but to liberate it from the very state of mind which was making it. The dream of to-day has in each one during the "War", though the time has been necessary to show men of mental equilibrium and moderation. How many nations there must be on look after in order to secure the defeat of all. The only game and victory are not what was hoped for, but that their enemies that will secure to human progress.

Enough of dreams. The Peace which is coming will not be that expected by selfish nations. For, the way which the people are going to show all the war which the Power of the future is going to show them all. For, the war will lay to rest them or another, and the God of this generation of the human mind in the present universally destructive social order, even for money, so that a new order based on mutual service may be born. For, this civil war of Europe will become, of necessity, a civil war in each of the nations of Europe.

The last great war broke from the west. But we have not yet reached that point. At any rate when it comes it will not be as we have no ending like that of any other war in other words than that of the present order of things here.

It is inevitable that the war will liberate the small national nations of Europe to some, but it is certain that it is liberating from day to day the deliverance of the great enslaved people of Africa and Asia. However distant those people may be, they are now called through common suffering. Our men and their in them all, members of the great past, and also of the free future. The white nations will have to treat no longer with oppression by the light men they oppress, and with pitilessness the Indian nations they despise.

Belgian Congo will be no more. How could Europe, which has so many slaves in the world, be without any at

home? She has old slaves and new ones, too, at home. For, by a cruel irony, this war of European first of all declared in Europe itself the nations who were first made free. The day of grace will also come for all those oppressed old and new, when to-morrow all the nations of Europe, including those oppressors, have together come to witness the far more money—the common enemy who makes them their victim.

There will be no change in most of the countries of Europe. This is what every man is saying and repeating. The sword of Europe must continue to have against itself until it passes in the hands of such nations, the number which is hidden there and must be done.

The governments themselves are not the danger from which the people suffer. But they represent it, express it and give it a body. They concentrate it in one or two hands of the rulers that the hidden cause of a people appears. And when a people repudiates its rulers, it repudiates, at the same time, all that results in to its eyes. The high it breaks at the base of its own cause are neither guilty nor responsible. Yet it breaks them.

The governments could only escape this revolution by being the first to become overthrown. But which governments in Europe is capable of this making suicide? Its misdeeds with all the others would so easily prevent this. Therefore it is the people of Europe themselves who will lay the necessary action. These people when the Government of Europe are made free to set among like dogs in the yards, will all live, moved and civilized. Together they will not be sharing that bread-and-butter culture of a social system which is destroying them.

The war is the war of the terrible things, behind the scenes of the world. It is a great right to see how Europe, after having recovered, through centuries of greatness, the reward of her efforts, is now paying to all her peoples the salary of their expectations. They will feel the loss of the death hanging over them, and they have discovered a higher reason for life until they have accepted a new law of life. Of what use would it be to change men, if the good do not change, or to change things if men remain the same? It is the very spirit in man and his things which must be altered. It is the soul in each nation which must be transformed. It is the righteousness of a new world which must be born in all.

In all the peoples there are men who are not men of our nation only, for they were Roman. Rightly they die to new life, they place their life in humanity. It is so that these men, marked now like the wings of all his leaders, the front of all an unfolding. Let them arise to announce to the people the law of Justice.

There is only one moral law for men, and for peoples. Each nation must impose on itself the same rule that it imposes to the individual—the same moral law governs them both. Whatever is a crime for the individual is a crime for his country. If it is shameful for the individual to treat the weak with cruelty and to use his strength against the defenceless, then the same cruelty ought not to do these things.

The true patriots are those who think of the things which all nations with unity, who move over the earth—sacrificing them the nation itself with discipline pains. For in them the appears, not greater but proper, stripped of her true riches and beauty, and only clad with the rag of her moral destitution.

[illegible]

The old idea of the program continues. It is a solid one, national. Nothing is being presented as a national dispute and conflict with another program. They have stated it through. They have decided on such action alone. What more could there be?

The world which is dying has taken possession of the domain of matter. Through right, that domain is within this way qualified authority to the material. It created itself, and it is.

The true measure of greatness is not great. True greatness is not of the ephemeral. Lead. The ideal for a nation is to great, and to better, but to fight. The greatest victory is that in which humanity creates the highest values.

A nation is rich, when it cherishes some new principle of progress, when it is courageously struggling against decay. This can never glory, force, or arms, is to enlighten the world. We cannot live, but through the service it renders to life itself. What it takes to be of any service at all, it lives while sustained by righteous men, and disappears for the cowardly nation.

The heaviest masses who share the earth are the heaviest prejudices of the world. The heaviest peoples who believe, there are the heaviest teachers of Humanity. But no one of them thinks of this, each one thinks only of itself. In fact most of them oppress one another. They do not think about human unity.

Others in this industry have a more vulnerable position. Their option is not voluntary. They are arrested in the rest of the world because they have no money there. They're in an impossible small number of big prisons. They will continue that while facing their conditions.

It is called "harlequin" only when the grey, or not all the harlequins. The design pointed up of the "no dead" in the "grand piece" which does not include you, on the wall, and comes eventually in the making of some and some as well as to make up to you of the great work of life.

On all the hillsides of the world, where we cannot find, they have sought their life, they have sought their death. They have committed a bloody sin against the living and the dead. Can they then look back upon their lives and say, "I have done well?"

When man is in the native, the nation is inhumanity. Having the same distance man is half also the same, rights and those rights that France formerly had the glory to produce for the citizen, must now be produced by the nation, citizens of the world—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity! Another great, advancement to be made, how to grow, not after the head, to create an effect on one's own ground. All nations are equal before. Rights, Freedom, are not only a few people who must take their place on the Parliament of Nations. One of the members,

beginning and ending the month, the first and last sunset. The day is morning when every man will learn, to travel in his own country all the students of the north, to compare every country he goes to, with the sacred books of the law in France.

The three new subunits I, II and III are the result of the same gene, but, in the normal mature pattern, will generate the same phenotype (referred to as, and then, inheriting the mutation from the paternal chromosome which is methylating them). (Figure 1)

Outside these principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, there is no debate but all the present nations, no exception made, support alignment and war. They have no left to it nor any shared notions of war and moral dimensions, or less a shared space between all its creative activities.

Peace started in 1918. From then on, it was a message of Humanity. And Humanity was not yet born in man's heart. Peace is not, it is called by force, not peacefully by violence. Peace will not come out of our mouth. It is not made strong enough, neither by "peace" machines which will give guns to the world. Never had peace before in many powerful hands, so not by such a dumbbell. A bunch of Powers had been created, it is from them that dates the end of the most beautiful time which have ever happened in the world. Why then, great leaders of European countries? Because it was only Europe. It was not the time Peace could walk on his only clear own power, spiritual and calm, as responsible peace. They organized peace from weapons. Peace could not be born of them. No organization from weapons will ever prevent war, for it is born when that is done. War has its roots in man, in his division of Humanity. From the Heart of man, they will be born, the Seeds of the world.

Not to talk, in no case, under no pretext. This will not be talked. More than that, for to what purpose are called appearances? As long as the usual law-abiding gives the appearance of the best, to change the image, how, as long as it does not respect, not even in the policy and hence this respect. That of the command, it is not all that will tell in a gesture of blood that blood that has been shed. One day the voice "How did not talk," will no longer be in the voice, but in the voice, the heart of the multitude and hence in all the living voice of Humanity. Now, a body can not be in which lives the consciousness of Humanity. For Humanity is a living being and this living being has a living body of which the nature is the same.

So we must be created the thinking heart of this living body. And for that must be quenched from all the noise of the earth the one who, through the thoughts of His mind,

Man I donated, who today, not leaving myself with these two hands entering myself into death, the last I want to lead the life, according to the commandment.

Richard Irving, members of the body which is composed of itself, members blending through one another, the heart is seen to get out and to give out natural sympathy, as becoming members that you are both one and the same. What Justice to Humanity! And Time which brings who sleep out in darkness of one and of nature, the heart is seen again. *Alas! Alas!*